

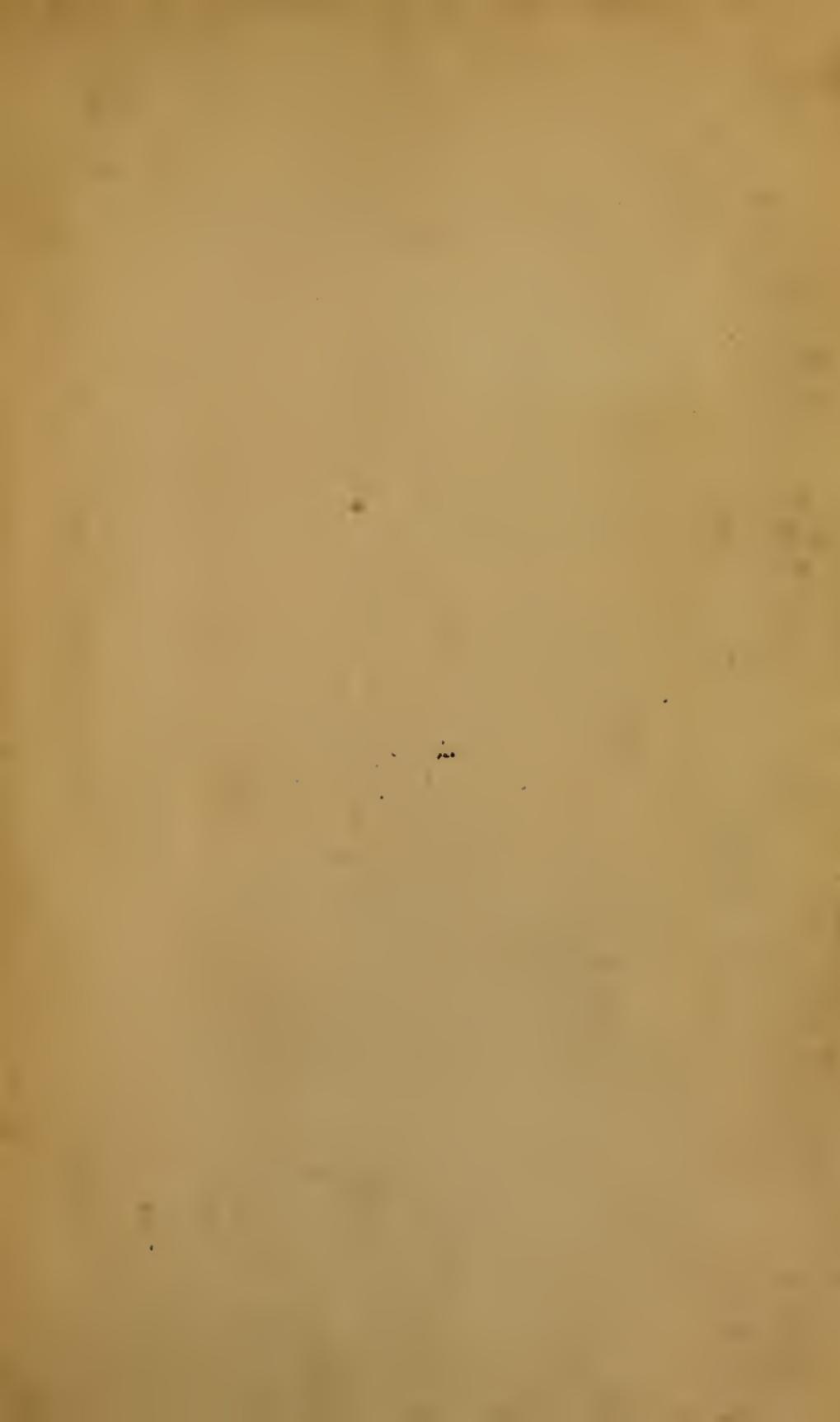


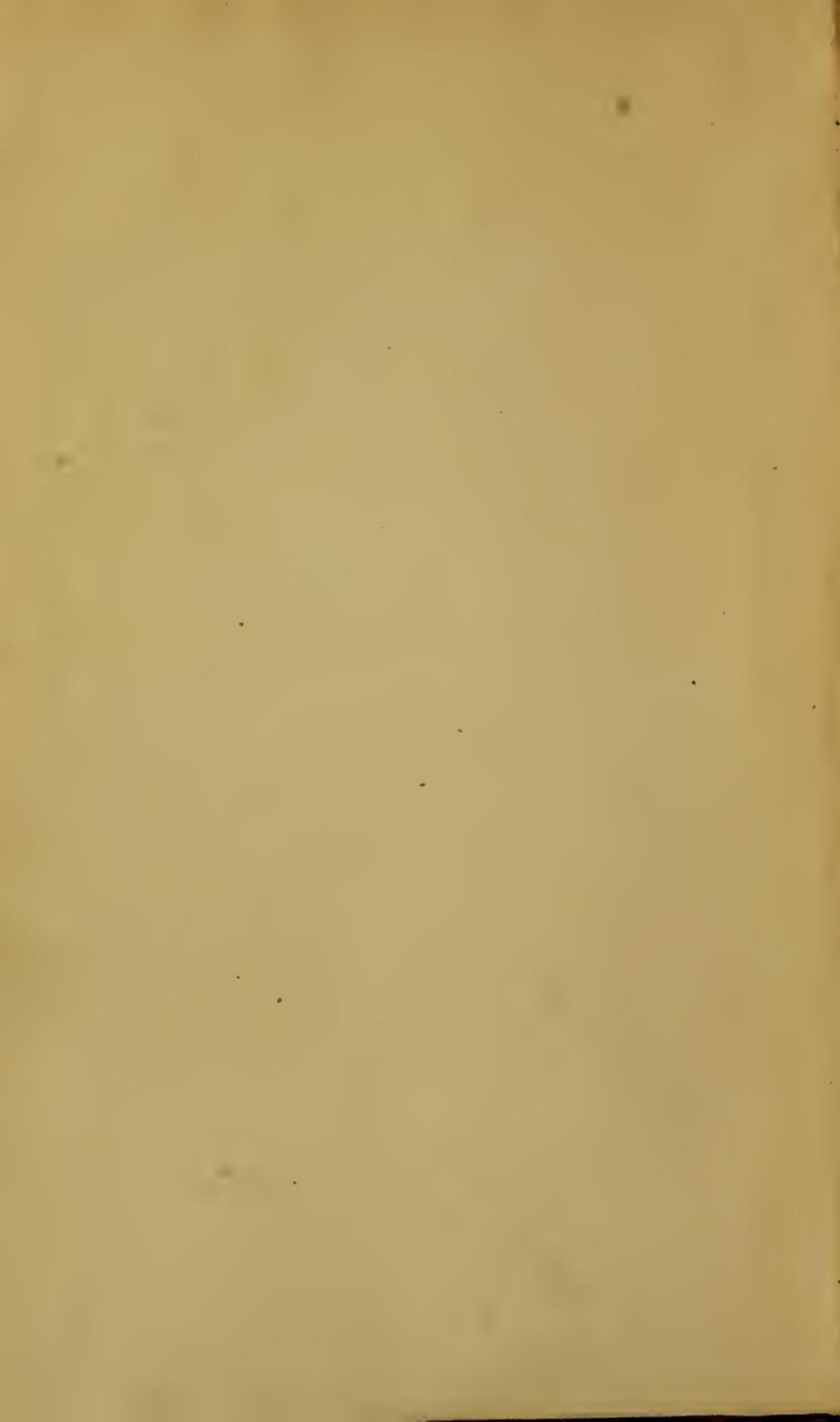
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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
I T A L Y,

Translated from the ITALIAN of
FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

B Y
AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD, Esq;

The T H I R D EDITION.

V O L. III.



L O N D O N,

Printed for Z. STUART, at the Lamb, in Pater-noster-Row.

M D C C L X I I I .



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Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
O F
The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK III.

T H E C O N T E N T S.

The Venetians give Assistance to the Pisans.

Preparations in France for another Expedition into Italy. Quarrels between the Guelf and Ghibelline Parties. Maximilian Cæsar invited into Italy by the Duke of Milan. The Death of Ferdinando King of Naples. The War between the Pope and the Orsini. A Plot of Piero de' Medici defeated. The Execution of Savonarola.

THE dishonourable Return of the French King to the other Side of the Alps, tho' it had proceeded rather from Indiscretion, or from Disorders,

VOL. II.

B

A. D.
1495.

A. D. ders, than from Pusillanimity, or the Weakness of his Forces, gave great Hopes to the People that *Italy*, which had felt so severe a Stroke of Fortune, would in a short Time recover, and be intirely freed from the Insolent Dominion of the *French*. The Conduct of the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan's* Resolution and Wisdom were cried up to the Skies. Every one allowed, that it was through their Means so fine a Country had narrowly escaped being enslaved by Foreigners. The People's Expectations of a lasting Prosperity were justly grounded ; but their Deliverers,

Pernicious Effects of Ambition. blinded by ambitious Views, and which in the End proved hurtful to themselves,

infamously sacrificed the public Good to private Interest, and, instead of confirming and establishing by their Counsels and Arms the peaceable Prospect they had procured, made use of their Power to bring farther Calamities on their Country. Ambition, which would not suffer them to remain contented within their proper Bounds, soon threw every thing again into Confusion, and prevented their reaping the Fruits of a Victory they had afterwards

wards obtained against the *French* who were left in the Kingdom of *Naples*: A.D.
^{1495.} Victory made easy, through the Negligence of *Charles*, and the Weakness of his Counsels, which were the Occasion that the Succours designed by him when he left *Italy* were never sent; for neither was any Provision made of a Fleet, nor did the Auxiliaries promised by the *Florentines* ever march.

Lodovico had no sincere Intentions in Artful submitting to a Peace with *Charles*. For Conduct of *Lodovico*. reflecting, as it is natural to the offending Person, on the Injuries he had done him, he persuaded himself that he could not with Security rely on his Faith. It had been purely out of a Desire of recovering *Novara*, and freeing his own Territory from the War, that he had been induced to promise what he never intended to perform; nor is there any Reason to doubt but that the *Venetians* gave their Consent to this Peace with the same Dissimulation, because it relieved them from the immense Expence they were at in the *Novarese*. However *Lodovico* did not think proper as

A. D. yet to declare his Mind, but wait till a seasonable Opportunity offered ; and therefore fulfilled all those Articles of the Capitulation, which might be said to be in his immediate Power to comply with. He gave Hostages, set the Prisoners at Liberty, paying their Ransom to the Captors with his own Money, restored the Ships taken at *Rapalle*, removed *Fracassa* from *Pisa*, as he could no longer conceal his being in his Pay, and within the Month appointed by the Articles delivered the *Castelletto* of *Genoa* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who went in Person to receive it. But, on the other Hand, he left *Lucio Malvezzo* in *Pisa* with a good Body of Troops, pretending he was in the *Genoese* Pay ; and permitted that two Caraques, which had been equipped at *Genoa* for *Ferdinando*, should sail for the Kingdom of *Naples*, alledging in Excuse that, because they were hired by that Prince before the Conclusion of the Peace, the People of *Genoa* would not consent that they should be refused him ; he also secretly persuaded the *Genoese* not to send the Hostages. But what mostly contributed to the Loss of the

Castles

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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Castles of *Naples*, was the Delay which he artfully procured to be made in sending out the six Ships which were destined for their Succour. For as soon as the King had armed his four Ships, and *Lodovico* the two he had engaged for, he prevailed on the *Genoese* to pretend to be alarmed, and oppose their being manned with *French* Soldiers, unless the King would give Security that the Ships should be restored to them, and that they should not be employed against themselves for changing their Government. *Charles* made heavy Complaints to *Lodovico* by proper Persons of these Evasions : His Answer was, that he had fulfilled his Engagement by arming his two Vessels, for no Mention was then made that *French* Troops were to be put on board them ; and as the Command he had in *Genoa* was not absolute, but limited, it was not in his Power to oblige the *Genoese* to act in every thing as he pleased ; and more especially in what they pretended had an immediate Tendency to endanger their Liberties and Safety. To give a greater Force to these Excuses, he prevailed on the Pope to order the

B 3.

*Genoese*A. D.
1495.

A. D. ^{1495.} Genoese and himself, under Pain of Ex-
communication, not to let any armed
Vessel belonging to the French go out
of the Port of Genoa. These were
the Means by which the French in
Naples were frustrated of their chief
Succour.

Lodovico obstructed also the Assistance
they expected from the Florentines, both
of Men and Money; for as soon as the
Treaty before mentioned was signed at
Turin, Guid' Antonio Vespucci, one of the
Florentine Ambassadors, set out with all
Expedition with the Articles; but in pas-
sing through the Dutchy of Milan, where
he imagined himself secure, as his Masters
had stood neuter, he was stopped by the
Duke's Order at Alessandria, rifled of all
his Papers, and brought to Milan. At
the Time the French quitted Pisa, the
Pisans had sent to implore Assistance of
the Venetians and the Duke of Milan, who
now, by the Interception of Vespucci and
his Papers, understanding the Agreement
and Engagements of the Florentines, re-
solved, with the Approbation of the Pon-
tiff

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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tiff and of all the Ministers of the Allies, ^{A. D.} ~~1495.~~ not to suffer *Pisa* to fall into the Hands of the *Florentines*; for, on Perusal of the *Turin Treaty*, they found that, as soon as *Pisa* and its Territory were reduced, the *Florentines* engaged to provide the *French* in the Kingdom of *Naples* with Men and Money. They were all apprehensive that the *Florentines* would become too powerful with the Recovery of *Pisa*, and that their Union with *France*, when they were disengaged from a *Pisan War*, might endanger the Liberties of *Italy*.

BUT the principal View, both of the *Pisa co-Venetians* and *Lodovico*, was to get *Pisa* ^{vetoed by} *Lodovico* into their own Possession. The last had long since a Design on that State; and the *Venetians*, at the Dissolution of the ancient Union of the other Potentates, and the Depression of Part of those who used to oppose their Encroachments, began to entertain Thoughts and Hopes of making themselves Sovereigns of *Italy*, and imagined *Pisa* a very proper Place to begin with, on account of the Conveniency of its Haven of *Livorno*, which they knew

A. D. could not be long preserved by the *Florentines*, unless they were Masters of
^{1495.} *Pisa*; and this Port would give them the Command of the lower Sea, and the City of *Pisa* an easy Inlet into *Tuscany*.

BUT the Duke of *Milan* was beforehand with them, and, at the very Time he was amusing the *Florentines* with vain Hopes of his Concurrence with their Measures, he ordered his General *Fracassa*, who had an Estate in the *Pisan*, to go thither under a Pretence of looking after his Affairs; and from *Genoa* he sent a fresh Supply of Troops. The *Pisans* were likewise fed with Hopes by the *Venetians*, who dispatched one of their Secretaries to *Genoa*, to intreat that Republic not to abandon the *Pisans*, and to levy Men: But the *Genoese* proceeded very slowly in sending them, because whilst the Citadel was in Possession of the *French*, and, what is much more, whilst their King was still in *Italy*, they judged there was no great Foundation to be laid on that Project.

A. D.

1495.

ON the other Side as soon as the *Florentines* had heard that the new Convention was signed by their Ambassadors at *Turin*, they augmented their Forces, to be in a Condition of obliging the *Pisans* to comply immediately with the King's Orders when the Treaty should arrive; which being retarded by the Seizure of their Ambassador, they were determined to lose no Time, but took the Castle of *Palaia*, and then laid Siege to *Vico Pisano*. But either through Misconduct, or for want of a sufficient Force to carry on their Approaches on the Side of *Pisa*, where the *Pisans* had erected a Fort on an Eminence pretty near the Town, they miscarried in their Enterprise. They had attacked it on the lower Side towards *Bientina*, from whence they could do little Damage, for the Town kept an open Communication with *Pisa* and *Cascina*. Another Cause of their ill Success was owing to *Pagolo Vitelli*, who, after receiving Three Thousand Ducats from the *Pisans*, entered *Vico* with his own and his Brother's Regiments, pretending to have received Letters from the King, and Orders

A. D. ders from the General of *Languedoc*, Bro-
1495. ther to the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, who was
detained by Sickness at *Pietra Santa*, to
protect *Pisa* and its Territory till he receiv-
ed contrary Instructions. It appeared very
surprising, that the *Pisans* should be pro-
tected by the *French* and *Milanese* Forces
at the same Time, and be also encouraged
by the *Venetians*, whilst that Senate and the
Duke of *Milan* were in open War with the
King of *France*. *Vitelli's* Reinforcement
secured *Vico Pisano*, and the Artillery did
such Execution amongst the *Florentines*,
who lay in the open Field without En-
trenchments, that, after lying before the
Place many Days, they were obliged to
raise the Siege with no small Loss of
their Credit.

*Livorno
restored
to the
Floren-
tines.*

IN the mean Time arrived Dispatches
from the King, Duplicates of which had
been secretly sent by different Roads; in
consequence thereof *Saillant*, the Lieute-
nant-Governor of *Livorno* under *Beau-
mont*, who had been placed there by the
King, immediately restored that Port,
Town and Castle to the *Florentines*; and
Mons.

Mons. *De l'Isle*, the Commissary appointed to receive from the *Florentines* the Ratification of the *Turin Treaty*, began to consult with *Entragues*, the Governor of the Citadel of *Pisa* and of the Castles of *Pietra Santa* and *Mutrone*, about the Manner and Time of their Delivery. But the Governor whom the King had appointed at his Departure from *Pisa* raised various Difficulties, either because the *Pisans* had gained his Affection, as they had in general that of all the *French*; or that he had received secret Orders from *Ligni*, whose Creature and Dependant he was; or from a Love which he bore to the Daughter of *Luca di Lante*, a Citizen of *Pisa*; for it was not likely that he should have been bribed by the *Pisans* at a Time they would have been out-bid by the *Florentines*. Sometimes he would give a strained Construction to the King's Letter; then pretended to have secret Orders not to restore them until he received a private Token from *Ligni*. This Wrangling lasted several Days, until at last the *Florentines* were obliged to send to the King, who was still at *Vercelli*,

to

THE HISTORY OF

A. D. to desire he would put an End to an
1495. Affair, that was both injurious to
them, and very much to his Majesty's
Discredit.

THE King was exceeding angry at *Entragues*'s Disobedience, and, with no small Resentment, ordered *Ligni* to make his Intentions known to him, and see them carried into Execution. He intended to send a Person of Note with these fresh Orders, and a pressing Letter from the Duke of *Orleans*, who was *Entragues*'s Liege-Lord. But the Obstinacy of *Ligni* and his Favourites got the Ascendant over the King's weak Counsels: The Dispatches were detained some Days, and then were not carried by a Person of Distinction, but by *Lancepugne*, a private Gentleman, who was accompanied by *Camillo Vitelli*, appointed with Part of the Money which the *Florentines* were to disburse to conduct into the Kingdom of *Naples* the Troops under his Command, which on the first Notice of the King's express Orders had joined the *Florentine* Army.

THESE

A. D.

1495.

THESE Dispatches had no better Effect than the former, tho' the *Florentines* had given *Entragues* Two Thousand Ducats for the Subsistence of his Troops in the Citadel till the King's Answer arrived. *Camillo* got also a Present of Three Thousand Ducats, without which he would have prevented the Delivery of the King's Letter. *Entragues*, by his Manner of acting was supposed to have received, by some bye Way, contrary Directions from *Ligni*; for, after several Days wrangling with the *Florentine* Commissaries, he thought of gaining his Point, without seeming to refuse obeying the King's Commands. The Suburb of *San Marco* leads to the *Florentine* Gate, which is contiguous to the Citadel, and the *Pisans*, with the Governor's Permission, had erected a very large Fort on the Front of this Suburb. They had, besides their Townsmen and a vast Number of Peasants, a Thousand foreign Troops in their Pay; which made *Entragues* imagine them strong enough to repel the *Florentines* from the Suburb. On this Supposition he sent to the *Florentines*

A. D. 1495. *the* Commissaries, to let them know that if they came up to the *Florentine Gate* with their Army, which was not to be done without first taking the Suburb, and the *Pisans* offered any Resistance he would soon force them to abandon the Suburb by his Fire from the Citadel, which commanded it. The *Florentines* gladly embraced the Invitation, and advanced in full Array, and with great Eagerness and Confidence from their Camp at *San Remidio*, which was not far from the Suburb ; and being informed by *Pagolo Vitelli* of the Disposition of the Enemy's Works, they assaulted the Fort in three different Places with such Vigour, that they soon put the *Pisans* to Flight, pursued them, and entered pell-mell with them into the Suburb, by the Draw-bridge which joined it to the Fort, killing and making Prisoners many of them. And it is not doubted but that in the Heat of the Pursuit, without any Assistance from the Citadel, they would have entered the Gate, as did some of their Men at Arms, and have taken the City, the *Pisans* being put to Flight, and making no Resistance. But *Entragues* finding Things go contrary to his

his Wishes and Intention, ordered the Cannon of the Citadel to fire on the *Florentines*. The Commissary and Generals, ^{A. D.} ~~1495.~~ ^{Entr-} mazed at the unforeseen Accident, after ^{gues fires} many of their Men had been killed and ^{on the} wounded, and amongst the last *Pagolo Vitielli* in his Leg, despairing to take the Town while the Citadel opposed them; beat a Retreat. For a few Days they kept Possession of the Suburb, but not being able to support the Force of the Artillery that continually played upon them, and did them great Damage, they were obliged at last to abandon it, and retire to *Cascina*, intending to wait there till the King should make better Provisions against the manifest Contumacy of his own Servants.

THE *Florentines* in the mean time could not avoid meeting with new and dangerous Troubles from other Quarters, excited principally by the Potentates of the League; who, in order to prevent the Conquest of *Pisa*, and to break their Confederacy with *France*, encouraged *Piero de' Medici* to attempt his Restoration to *Florence*, with the Help of *Virginio Orsini*, ^{who}

A. D. 1495. who had escaped from the *French* the Day of the Battle of the *Taro*, and was retired to *Bracciano*. They were both easily persuaded, for *Virginio*, let the Event be what it would, was glad of an Opportunity, at another's Expence, of getting together his Partisans and old Soldiers, and regaining his Reputation in Arms. And *Piero*, as it is customary for Exiles to embrace all Offers, imagined the Party attached to his Family, which for a great Number of Years had lived with so much Grandeur in the State of *Florence*, was numerous and strong, and the new popular Government so odious to many of the Nobility, that he could not fail of Success.

IT was believed that this Design had been formed first in *Milan*; for when *Virginio* made his Escape, he went directly to visit that Duke: But it was perfected in *Rome*, after a Debate of many Days in the Pope's Councils, by the *Venetian* Ambassador, and Cardinal *Ascanio*, who acted by Commission from his Brother *Lodovico*. The Grounds *Piero* went upon were

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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were these : He had amassed together, of ^{A. D.} 1495. his own Money and what he could borrow from his Friends, Ten Thousand Ducats ; and, besides the Assistance of *Virginio* with his old Soldiers, *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, who was in the Pay of the *Venetians* and the Duke, was to attack the *Florentines* on the Side of *Bologna*, whilst *Caterina Sforza*, whose Sons were in the Pay of the Duke of *Milan*, was to make a Diversion from the Cities of *Imola* and *Forli*, which border on their Dominions. There was also good Reason to think that the *Senese* would join them, from their inveterate Hatred to the *Florentines*, and also in Hopes of preserving *Montepulciano*, which they knew they could not keep with their own Force ; for they had lately experienced that, even with the Assistance of the Lord of *Piombino* and *Giovanni Savelli*, hired in common by them and the Duke of *Milan*, they had not been able to get Possession of the Pass of the Marsh of *Chiavie*, which is the Boundary, on that Side, between them and the *Florentines*, for a long Tract of Ground. In order to obtain it, the *Senese*, a few Months before, had begun to work on a

A. D. Fort near the Bridge of *Valiano*, from
1495. whence they could batter a Tower of the *Florentines* situated on the Point over against *Montepulciano*. But the Success was quite contrary to their Expectations ; for the *Florentines* alarmed at the Danger of losing the Bridge, by which they would not only be deprived of the Means of molesting *Montepulciano*, but would also leave an Inlet into the Territories of *Cortona*, *Arezzo*, and other Parts of their Dominions on another Side of the *Chiane*, they sent a strong Body of Troops and destroyed the Fort that was building, and wholly to secure the Pass erected another themselves, near the Bridge, but on the other Side of the *Chiane*, large enough to contain a numerous Garrison, and from thence took Advantage to make Excursions to the very Gates of *Montepulciano*, and infested all the Towns of the *Senese* in those Parts ; and, besides this Success, a little after the Passage of the King of *France*, they routed the Troops of the *Senese* near *Montepulciano*, and took *Giovanni Vitelli*, their Commander, Prisoner.

VIRGINIO and *Piero* expected also Reception and some Conveniences from *Perugia*, not only because the *Baglioni*, who, by Arms and an Attendance of Partisans, despotically in a manner governed that City, were attached to *Virginio*, being every one of them of the *Guelf* Faction ; and because they had maintained a very intimate Friendship with *Lorenzo*, the Father of *Piero*, and afterwards with *Piero* himself, while he was in *Florence*, and had been favoured by them against the Movements of their Enemies ; but also because being Subjects of the Church, tho' more in Shew than in Effect, it was believed that on this Occasion, which did not relate principally to their State, they would act conformably to the Pope's Will, especially as it was inforced by the Authority of the *Venetians* and Duke of *Milan*.

ON these Grounds *Piero* and *Virginio* set out from the *Roman* Territory, in great hopes that the *Florentines*, divided amongst themselves, and alarmed at their being attacked by so many of their Neighbours

THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1495. acting under the Authority of the Allies, would hardly be able to resist them. After halting a few Days about *Terni* and *Todi*, where *Virginio* collected Money and Men from his Friends the *Guelfs*, and humbled, at the same Time, the *Ghibellines*, to gratify the *Perugians*, he laid Siege to *Gualdo*, a Town held by the Community of *Foligno*,* but sold before by the Pope for Six Thousand Ducats to the *Perugians*, who were inflamed not so much with an eager Desire of possessing that Town, as with a Party Zeal, which at that Time excited very great Commotions in all the Towns of that District. For a few Days before the *Oddi*, Exiles of *Perugia*, and Heads of the Party opposite to the *Baglioni*, being assisted by the People of *Foligno*, *Ascoli*, and other neighbouring Places, which followed the *Ghibelline* Faction, had entered *Corcianno*, a strong Place Five Miles from *Perugia*, with Three Hundred Horse and Five Hundred Foot. On this Occasion the whole Country rising in Arms, for *Spoletto*, *Camerino*, and other *Guelf* Places, favoured the *Baglioni*, the *Oddi* a few Days after entered

* *Foligno* is a City at a small Distance from *Perugia*. where the Merchants deal more largely with *England* for Woollen Goods than those of any inland Towns in *Italy*.

entered one Night by Stealth into *Perugia*, A. D.
and struck so great a Consternation into ^{1495.}
the *Baglioni*, that they lost all Hopes of de-
fending themselves, and began to seek
their Safety by Flight. But a sudden and
trivial Accident deprived the *Otti* of a
Victory, which the Power of their Ene-
mies could not have done; for, after they
had advanced without any Hindrance as
far as one of the Entrances that opens into
the principal Square, one of their Party,
not being able, for the Croud of his Com-
panions about him, to stretch out his
Arm for cutting the Chain which, as is
usual in factious Cities, went across the
Street, with an Axe he had brought with
him for that Purpose, cried out aloud,
Fall back, Fall back! that by widening
themselves they might give him Room to
work. These Words being repeated from
one to another by those behind, and under-
stood by the rest as a Warning to fly, put
the whole Body of them, without any
other Rencounter or Impediment, to a
precipitate Flight, nobody knowing who
drove them, or why they fled. Their
Adversaries took the Advantage of this
Confusion, and joining together followed

A. D. them, killed many, took Prisoner *Troilo Savelli*, a Nobleman sent to the Assistance of the *Otti* by Cardinal *Savelli*, out of the same factious Zeal, pursued the Runaways home to *Corciano*, and recovered that Town with the same Fury, and, not satiated with the Slaughter of Numbers of those that fled, hanged many of the rest in *Perugia*, with a Cruelty which Partisans usually exercise one upon another. These Tumults occasioned much Blood-shed in the neighbouring Towns, by Means of the Parties, who in those suspicious Times took care to put themselves in Arms, either from a Thirst after the Blood of their Enemies, or out of Fear of being prevented by them. The *Perugians* incensed against the *Folignese* had laid Siege to *Gualdo*, but having given an Assault in vain, they doubted of taking it with their own Forces, and accepted the Assistance of *Virginio*, who offered it to the End that, at the Rumour of a War and of Plunder, Soldiers might the more readily flock to his Standard. But the *Perugians*, however stimulated by *Piero* and *Virginio* openly to assist their Enterprize, or at least to grant

grant them some Pieces of Artillery, and Quarters for their Troops in *Castiglione del Lago*, on the Borders of the Territory of *Cortona*, with the Conveniency of supplying their Army with Provisions, did not grant one of these Demands, though pressed with the greatest Earnestness by Cardinal *Ascanio* in the Name of the Duke of *Milan*, and commanded by the Pope in vehement and threatening Briefs. The Reason was, that after the *Perugians* had taken *Corciano*, the *Florentines* having supplied them with some Money, settled a yearly Provision on *Guido* and *Ridolfo*, the chief Heads of the *Baglioni*, and taken *Gianpagolo*, *Ridolfo's* Son, into their Pay, had won over to their Interest that People, who were besides averse to any Engagements with the Pontiff, because they were apprehensive that he inclined to favour their Adversaries, or would take Occasion from their Divisions to form a Design of reducing their City wholly under Subjection to the Church.

AT this Time *Pagolo Orsini*, who with sixty Men at Arms of the old Regiment of

THE HISTORY OF

A. D. Virginio had quartered many Days in Montepulciano, and afterwards removed to the Castle of the *Pieve*, carried on, by Orders from Pierode' Medici, a Plot in the City of *Cortona*, with an Intention to put it in Execution as soon as Virginio, whose Troops fell short both in Number and Goodness of what was at first designed, should approach the Place. In this Delay the Plot that was held being discovered by Means of a poor Exile, Part of the Foundation on which Piero and his Friend built their Hopes began to fail, and on the other Hand greater Obstacles appeared. For the *Florentines*, sollicitous to provide against Dangers, leaving Three Hundred Men at Arms and Two Thousand Foot in the Territory of *Pisa*, had ordered Count *Rinuccio da Marciano*, their General, with Two Hundred Men at Arms and a Thousand Foot to encamp near *Cortona*. Next, to prevent the *Seneze* from joining their Troops with Virginio, of which they were treating with him, they ordered Three Hundred Men at Arms and Fifteen Hundred Foot to advance to *Poggio Imperiale* on the Borders

A Plot
against
Cortona

Bordert of the *Senese* under the Command ^{A. D.}
 of *Guido Ubaldo da Montefeltro*, Duke of ^{1495.}
Urbino, whom they had lately taken into
 their Pay ; and to strike the greater Terror
 into the City of *Siena*, they sent with the
 Duke a great Number of *Senese* Exiles.

BUT *Virginio*, after giving several Assaults to *Gualdo*, in one of which *Charles*, his natural Son, was wounded by the Shot of an Arquebus, bribed, as was thought, by those of *Foligno*, raised the Siege without making any Terms in favour of the *Perugians*, and marched into Quarters, first at *Tavernelle*, and afterwards at *Panicale* ^{Virginio raises the Siege of Gualdo.} in the Territory of *Perugia*, renewing his Instances to the *Perugians* that they would declare against the *Florentines* ; which they not only refused, but, dissatisfied with his Conduct at *Gualdo*, with Threats, in a manner, obliged him to quit their Territory.

PIERO and *Virginio* then, with Four Hundred Horse, advanced to *Orsaia**, a Country

* *Orsaia*, more properly *Ossia*, from the Quantity of Bones that are found there ; it being near the Lake *Trafimene*,

A. D. Country Seat near *Cortona*, in hopes that
1495. in that City, which, to avoid being da-
maged by Soldiers, had refused to admit
the *Florentine* Men at Arms, some Com-
motion might arise in their Favour. But
when they found all Things quiet, they
passed the *Chiane* with Three Hundred
Men at Arms and Three Thousand Foot,
in bad Order, as they had been got toge-
ther with little Money, and encamped in
the Territory of the *Senese* near *Montepul-
ciano*, between *Chianciano*, *Torrita*, and
Afina Lunga, where, excepting some Ex-
cursions for the Sake of Plunder, they re-
mained many Days inactive: For the *Flo-
rentines* had passed the *Chiane* at the Bridge
of *Valiano*, and possessed themselves of
Monte a San Sovino, and the other circum-
jacent Places opposite to the Enemy.

Bentivo-
glio de-
clines
joining
Picro.

NOR in *Bologna* was any Movement
made, as they were made to believe had
been intended; for *Bentivoglio*, resolving
not to involve himself in a War with a
neighbouring

Tuscan, now the Lake of *Perugia*, where *Hannibal* gained
a signal Victory over the *Romans*. At a small Distance
there is a River, or Torrent, called *Sanguineto*, from a
Report of its having ran Blood the Day of the Battle.

neighbouring and powerful Republic for the Interest of others, tho' he consented that *Giuliano de' Medici*, who was come to *Bologna*, and endeavoured to raise the Friends which his Family used to have in the Mountains of the *Bolognese*, should be treated with much Shew of Respect, would not take up Arms, tho' mightily stimulated by the Confederates, interposing various Delays, and divers Excuses.

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1495.

THE Allies, indeed, themselves, were not intirely of the same Mind; for the Duke of *Milan*, tho' pleased that the *Florentines* should be so far embarrassed as to render them less able to manage the *Pisans*, yet no ways wished that *Piero de' Medici*, whom he had so much injured, should return to *Florence*; notwithstanding that *Piero*, to convince him that he intended for the future to be intirely directed by his Counsels, had sent his Brother the Cardinal to *Milan*: As for the *Venetians*, they did not chuse to enter into this War without the Duke; besides, the principal Care of both, at this Juncture, was employed in making Provisions for driving the

A. D. the French out of the Kingdom of
1495. Naples.

By these means *Piero* and *Virginio* falling short not only of the Hopes which they had conceived, but also of Money to pay their Troops, which were considerably diminished both Horse and Foot, returned to *Bagno a Rapolano*, in the Territory of *Chiusi*, a City subject to the *Senese*.

Virginio goes into the French Service. Here in a few Days, *Virginio's* Destiny drawing him on, arrived *Camillo Vitelli*, and Mons. *de Gemel*, sent by the King of France to take him into the *French Service*, and conduct him into the Kingdom of *Naples*; where, after the Desertion of the *Colonnas*, his Majesty thought he would be of great Service to his Cause. This Offer he accepted, tho' disapproved by many of his Friends, who advised him either to take Pay under the Confederates, who eagerly sollicited him to it, or to return into the *Aragonian Service*. But either he was in Hopes of recovering by this means with more Ease the Territories of *Albi* and *Tagliacozzo*; or because, reflecting on the Events that happened in the Loss of

of the Kingdom, and seeing his Adver-
saries the *Colomas* in great Authority with ^{A. D.}
^{1495.} *Ferdinando*, he despaired of ever being re-
stored to his former Trust and Credit; or
else, as he declared himself, he did it purely
because he was dissatisfied with the Confe-
derate Princes, for not performing their
Promises to him in Favour of *Piero de'*
Medici. Thus was *Virginio* taken into the
French Service, with an Allowance of Six
Hundred Men at Arms for himself and
others of the House of *Orsini*, but under
an Obligation to send his Son *Carlo* into
France for Security to the King. Such
are the Fruits reaped by those who have
once brought their Faith under Suspicion.
He received a Sum of Money, and then
employed himself in making Preparations
for marching, in Conjunction with *Vitelli*,
to the Kingdom of *Naples*, where both
before the Loss of the Castles, as well as
since, continual Efforts had been made on
both Sides, in different Quarters, with va-
rious Events, and were still prosecuted.

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FOR *Ferdinando* having at first faced the *French* in the Plains of *Sarni*, they retired from *Piedigrotta*, and encamped at *Nocera*, four Miles from the Enemy. Both Armies being pretty equal, the Time was spent in Skirmishes, without any Thing of Moment happening, excepting that about Seven Hundred of *Ferdinando's* Men, between Horse and Foot, conducted, by a deceitful Intelligence, to take Possession of *Gisone*, a little Town near *San Severino*, were almost all killed or taken Prisoners.

Ferdinando
do loses
700 Men
at *Gisone*.

But the Troops of the Pope coming to the Assistance of *Ferdinando* made him superior to the *French*, who on this Occasion quitted *Nocera*, which with the Citadel, was taken by the *Aragonians*, with great Slaughter of those of the *French* Faction.

Nocera
taken by
the Ara-
gonians.

In the mean time *Monpensier* had provided with Horses and all Accoutrements the Troops which had marched with him out of *Castel-nuovo*, and having put them in good Order, and received some Reinforcements, advanced to *Ariano*, a Town very

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very plentiful in Provisions. *Ferdinando*, ^{A. D.} ~~1495.~~ by this Junction, was become inferiour to the Enemy, and therefore entrenched himself at *Montefuscoli*, with an Intent to be on the Defensive, and not to tempt Fortune, until he was better supplied by the Allies. *Monpensier* made himself Master of the Town and afterwards of the Castle of *San Severino*; and would, ^{*San Severino taken*} without Doubt, have made greater Progress, if his Money had not failed him: For there was none sent from *France*, and he had no Means of collecting any in the Country. The Want of Pay made his Soldiers uneasy, particularly the *Swiss*, and was the Occasion that his Performances were not answerable to his Forces.

THE Armies spent about three Months in these Actions, while *Don Federigo*, in Conjunction with *Don Cæsar of Aragon*, assisted by the People of the Country, made War in *Puglia*, and were opposed by the Barons and People of the *French* Party. In the *Abruzzi* *Gratiano di Guerra* made a very brave Defence against Count *Pepoli* and other Barons who adhered

A. D. hered to *Ferdinando*. The Prefect of *Rome*,
1495. to whom the King had given the Com-
mand of Two Hundred Men at Arms; from his own Territories infested the Towns of *Montecasino* and the Country about it, where the prosperous State of the French Affairs began somewhat to decline on account of the long Sickness of *Aubigni*, which interrupted the Course of his Victories; tho' almost all *Calabria* and the *Principato* were in the Hands of the French. But *Gonsalvo* having assembled the Spanish Troops, with the Peasants who were Friends to the *Aragonians*, and increased them by the Reduction of *Naples*, had taken several Towns, and kept up the Name of *Ferdinando* in that Province; where the French were put to the same Straits for want of Money as in the Army; yet they recovered and pillaged the City of *Cosenza*, which had revolted.

IN all this Distress and Danger, there appeared no Likelihood of any Assistance from *France*: For the King stopped at *Lions*, where he gave himself up to Jests and Tournaments, and all Sorts of Diversions,

sions, without any Concern about the War, always declaring that he would apply his Thoughts anew to the Affairs of Italy, but in Fact shewing that they were least of all in his Memory. Argenton, however, was returned from *Venice*, and had reported to his Majesty the Answer of the Senate. They did not pretend, they said, to be at Enmity with the King, and had not taken up Arms till after the Seizing of *Novara*, and then only for the Defence of the Duke of *Milan* their Ally; that therefore they thought it needless to confirm their antient Friendship with a new Peace: That, on the other Hand, they had offered him, by the Mediation of indifferent Persons, to induce *Ferdinando* to pay him a Sum of Money in Hand, and to be bound to a yearly Tribute of Forty Thousand Ducats, and to leave *Taranto* for a certain Time in his Hands as a Security. The King, as if he had had in Readiness a potent and well-provided Succour, would not hearken to this Representation, 'tho', besides the Difficulties of *Italy*, he was not without Molestations on the Borders of his own Kingdom. For *Ferdinando* King

A. D. of Spain was come in Person to Perpig-
^{1495.}nan, from whence he ordered his Troops
King of to make Excursions into Languedoc, where
Spain at Perpignan they made Booties, and did a Deal of
Damage, and kept the Country under per-
petual Apprehensions of greater Move-
ments; and the Dauphin of France, the
Death of King's only Son, was lately dead: All which
the Dauphin. Considerations ought to have inclined him
the more readily to come to some Agree-
ment, had he been capable of determining
either on Peace or War.

AT the End of this Year was brought
to a Conclusion the Affair of the Citadel
of Pisa. For the King, being informed of
the Obstinacy of the Governor, had sent
M. Gemel, with rough and menacing Or-
ders, directed not only to him but to all
the French in Garrison. And not long
after he dispatched Bonne, Brother-in-Law
to the Governor, with an Intent that the
representing to him, by a Person in whom
he could put Confidence, that it lay in his
Power to cancel past Errors by Obedi-
ence, and on the other Hand the Mischief
that he would incur by persevering in his
Dif-

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Disobedience, might dispose him the more readily to execute the King's Commands : But he, continuing as obstinate as ever, despised the Message of *Gemel*, who, after waiting a Day or two, according to his Instructions, set out with *Camillo Vitelli* to wait upon *Virginio*. Neither did the Arrival of *Bonne*, which was retarded several Days by his Confinement at *Sarzana* by Orders from the Duke of *Milan*, remove the Governor from his Obstinacy ; on the contrary he brought *Bonne* over to his own Sentiments, and entered into an Agreement with the *Pisans*, by the Mediation of *Lucio Malvezzo* as Agent for the Duke of *Milan*, by Virtue of which, on the first Day of the Year 1496, he resigned into their Hands the Citadel of *Pisa*, on receiving Twelve Thousand Ducats for himself, and Eight Thousand more to be distributed among the Garrison. The *Pisans*, being in no Condition to disburse so much Money, were presented with Four Thousand Ducats by the *Venetians*, with Four Thousand more by the *Genoese*, and with the like Sum by the Duke of *Milan*, who at the same Time, governing himself

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1495.

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Entragues
delivers
the Citadel
to the Pisans.

A. D. by his usual Arts, tho' but little trusted,
^{1496.} was treating underhand of entering into
a close Friendship and Correspondence
with the *Florentines*, and had already agreed
with their Ambassadors on the Condi-
tions.

IT did not seem at all probable that ei-
ther *Ligni* or *Entragues*, or any one else,
would have acted in so extravagant a Man-
ner without the King's Will, especially as
it was of considerable Prejudice to his In-
terest. The City of *Pisa*, tho' *Entragues*
had stipulated that it should remain in
Subjection to the Crown of *France*, was
manifestly left at the Devotion of the
Confederates; and, by the Non-performance
of the Restitution, the *French* in the King-
dom of *Naples* were disappointed of the
very necessary Succours of Men and Mo-
ney promised by the Treaty of *Turin*. And
yet the *Florentines*, who with the utmost
Attention observed the Progress of the
whole Affair, tho' at the Beginning they
much doubted, were at last firmly persua-
ded that the whole Proceeding had been
managed in Opposition to the Will of the
King,

King ; which might seem incredible to any one who was not acquainted with the natural Qualifications of that Monarch, with the Peculiarities of his Temper and Manner, the little Authority he had over those who served him, and what Liberties are taken with a Prince who is become contemptible.

THE *Pisans* having taken Possession of the Citadel, immediately set all Hands at Work in demolishing it to the very Foundations ; and knowing their own Strength to be insufficient for their Defence, they sent at one and the same Time Ambassadors to the Pope, to the King of the Romans, to the *Venetians*, *Senese*, *Genoese*, *Lucchese*, and Duke of *Milan*, imploring Succour from every one of them, but with more earnest Sollicitations from the *Venetians*, and from the Duke of *Milan* ; to which Prince they had before been inclined voluntarily to transfer the Dominion of their City, imagining themselves obliged to regard, as their chief End, not so much the Preservation of their Liberty, as how to avoid the Necessity of returning

The Cita-
del of *Pisa*
demolished.

The *Pis-*
sans offer
their City
to Lodo-
vico.

A. D. under the Power of the *Florentines*, and
1496. putting more Confidence in the Duke than
in any other Potentate, because he had inci-
cited them to rebel, and on account of
his Neighbourhood, and because, while
^{Who ac-}
cepted it. they could obtain nothing from the other
Confederates but vain Hopes, he had
readily sent them Supplies.

BUT the Duke, though passionately
desirous of the Sovereignty of *Pisa*, could
not prevail with himself to accept it, for
fear of giving too great Offence to the other
Allies, who had begun to consider the Af-
fairs of the *Pisans* as their common Cause.
For this Reason he sometimes advised them
to delay a while, sometimes proposed that
the Surrender should rather be made pub-
licly in the Name of the *San Severini*, un-
til he saw a proper Opportunity for dis-
covering that it was made in Trust to
them for his own Use and Behalf: But
as soon as the King of *France* had left
Italy, thinking himself to stand no longer
in Need of the Allies, he determined to ac-
cept the Offer.

BUT

BUT this Inclination of the *Pisans* began to grow cool, by the great Hopes they had entertained of receiving Assistance from the *Venetian* Senate ; and they were also persuaded by others that it was easier to defend themselves by the Assistance of Many, than to seek Shelter under the Protection of a single Person, and afforded a better Prospect of maintaining their Liberties. These Considerations had more Weight with them since the Restitution of the Citadel, and they endeavoured as much as possible to gain the Favour of all around them. And the Disposition of the States of *Italy* happened at this Juncture ^{The Po-} to be very favourable to their Intention : ^{tentates in} For the *Genoese*, out of Hatred of the *Flo-* ^{general} *rentines*, and the *Senese* and *Lucchese* out of ^{wish well} *Pisans*.
Hatred and Fear, were always ready to assist them ; and, to do it the more effectually, debated among themselves on the Share that each Party was to contribute for that Purpose. The *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*, in hopes of annexing *Pisa* to their own Dominions, were solicitous to prevent its returning under the

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A. D. Dominion of the *Florentines*: And it was
1496. of Advantage to their Cause, that the Pope
and the King of *Spain* were pleased to
see the Republic of *Florence* mortified, on
account of their Inclination to the *French*
Interest. On these Accounts they re-
ceived Encouragement from all Parts; for
they obtained of *Cæsar* as a Privilege the
Confirmation of their Liberties; and of
the *Venetians* and Duke of *Milan* the same
Promises to preserve their Liberty, as
they had before by common Consent made
them to free them from the *French* Yoke.
And the Pope, in the Name of all the Po-
tentates of the League, gave them by a
Brief the same Encouragement, promising
them a powerful Assistance from every
Quarter. But the real Succour came
from the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*.
Lodovico augmented the Troops he had
already in *Pisa*, and the Senate sent thither
a good Number of Men: And had they
both steadily persevered in their Resolu-
tions, and continued their Supplies, the
Pisans would not have lain under the Ne-
cessity of adhering more to the one than to
the other, and a Harmony between the
Confederates

Confederates would have been more easily ^{A.D.} preserved. But it soon happened that the ^{1496.} Duke, always extremely tenacious of his Money, and naturally inclined to proceed with Artfulness and Dissimulation, imagining he could not well, at this Juncture, make himself Master of *Pisa*, began to slacken in sending the Supplies demanded by the *Pisans*, which obliged them to apply more earnestly to the *Venetians*, who with a bountiful Hand administered to all their Necessities. This had such an Effect that, not long after the *French* had evacuated the Citadel, the *Venetian* Senate, at the earnest Request of the *Pisans*, resolved to take the City of *Pisa* under their Protection, *Lodovico* rather advising than shewing any Concern about it, without communicating their Design to the other Confederates, though at first they had exhorted them to send Troops to *Pisa*. But the Allies now alledged that for the future they were disengaged from all Obligations to assist the *Pisans*, because they had made a particular Agreement with the *Venetians* without their Consent.

The *Pisans* give themselves up to the sole Protection of the *Venetians*.

BUT

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BUT it is most certain that neither a Desire of preserving that Liberty for others which they held so dear in their own Country, nor a Regard to the common Safety, as at that Time and afterwards, with fine Talk, they would make the World believe, but the Desire of acquiring the Dominion of *Pisa*, was the sole Motive to the *Venetians* for taking this Resolution, which they doubted not in a short Time to put in Execution with the Consent of the *Pisans* themselves, who would gladly chuse to remain under the Government of the *Venetians*, in order to be secured from ever returning under Bondage to the *Florentines*.

Debates
in the
Venetian
Senate.

THIS Affair, however, passed under several long Debates in the Senate, the Inclination, which was almost universal, being somewhat checked by the Authority of some of the older and more respectable Senators, who opposed the Resolution with great Warmth, declaring that to espouse the Cause of *Pisa* was to involve themselves

selves in a World of Difficulties, because ^{A. D.}
that City being at a great Distance from ^{1496.}
their Borders by Land, and at a much <sup>Reasons
against
taking the</sup>
greater by Sea, in which last Case they could not get thither without passing ^{Pisans} ^{into their} by the Ports and Harbours of other Po-^{Protection} tentates, and fetching a long Compas through the two Seas by which *Italy* is surrounded, it would require an immense Charge to defend it against the continual Insults of the *Florentines*. It was not to be denied that this Acquisition would be very commodious for the *Venetian Empire*, but the Difficulties in preserving it ought first to be weighed, with the Condition of the present Times, and what Effects such a Resolution might produce. For as all *Italy* was naturally jealous of the *Venetian Grandeur*, such an Increase of their Power must be very displeasing to every one, and therefore might easily occasion greater and more dangerous Events than many perhaps had imagined. They were greatly deceived, who flattered themselves that the other Powers would remain idle Spectators, and tamely suffer their Empirc, already

A. D. already formidable to all the *Italians*, to be
1496. increased by so important an Acquisition
as the Dominion of *Pisa*: And if, as in
former Times, they were not able to hinder it with their own Forces, they had, on
the other Hand, since the Ultramontanes
had been taught the Way to pass into *Italy*,
greater Opportunities to oppose them by hav-
ing Recourse to foreign Aid, which it was
not to be doubted but they would readily
invoke, as well out of Hatred as Fear, it be-
ing the common Fault of Mankind to
chuse rather to be enslaved by Foreigners,
than to submit to any among themselves.
And who can believe that the Duke of
Milan, a Man accustomed to suffer him-
self to be hurried away sometimes by Am-
bition and Hopes, sometimes by Fear, but
at present agitated by Resentment as well
as Emulation at seeing the Prey, which
he had sought by so many Artifices to pro-
cure for himself, carried off to the *Venetians*,
would not rather excite new Com-
motions in *Italy*, than bear that *Pisa* should
be in their Possession? And tho' his
Words and Counsels may shew the con-
trary,

trary, it may very readily be discerned that they do not flow from the Sincerity of his Heart, but are designed to ensnare us, and artful Counsels given for base Ends. It would indeed be prudent to join with him in the Support of *Pisa*, if it were for no other Reason than to prevent the *Pisans* from surrendering themselves into his Hands; but to make their Cause our own, and to draw upon ourselves so great a Load of Envy and Expence can by no means be the Result of wise Counsel. It ought to be considered how contrary such a Project is to the Work in which they have been employed so many Months, and which they still have upon their Hands; for that Senate took up Arms with so much Cost and Danger, from no other Motive than a Desire to secure themselves and all *Italy* from Barbarians *. They had begun this Work with glorious Success, but as the King of *France* had scarce repassed the Mountains, and still kept in Possession the greatest Part of the Kingdom of *Naples* with a potent Army, how imprudent, how infamous would it

* The *Italians*, even in *Guicciardini's* Time, continued, like the old *Romans*, to give the Name of *Barbarians* to all beyond the Alps.

A. D. it be, at a Juncture which called upon them
1496. to establish the Liberty and Security of
Italy, to scatter the Seeds of new Distur-
bances, which might facilitate the Return
of the King of *France*, or the Entrance of
the King of the *Romans*, who, as every one
knows, has perhaps a greater and more ar-
dent Desire on account of his Pretensions on
their State! The *Venetian Republic* was not
in such Circumstances, as to be under a Ne-
cessity of embracing dangerous Counsels, or
taking Hold of immature Occasions: On the
contrary, no State in *Italy* was better qual-
ified to wait the Opportunity of Times, and
the Maturity of Occasions: For precipi-
tate and dubious Resolutions were proper
for those who were in difficult or un-
lucky Circumstances, or to such as, being
stimulated by Ambition, or a passionate
Desire to make their Names illustrious,
were afraid they should want Time; and
not for that Republic, which, seated amidst
so much Power, Dignity and Authority,
was feared and envied by all the rest of
Italy; and being, with respect to Kings
and other Princes, in a manner immortal
and perpetual, and always retaining the
same

same Title, *The Venetian Senate*, had no Occasion to hasten its Resolutions before the Time : That it was more suitable to the Wisdom and Gravity of that Senate to consider, as it was the Property of truly wise Men, the Dangers latent under their Hopes and ambitious Desires, and the Ends more than the Beginnings of Things, to reject rash Counsels, and to abstain, as well in the Affairs of *Pisa* as on all other Occasions that offered themselves, from terrifying and irritating the Spirits of other States, at least till *Italy* was better secured from Dangers and Jealousies of the Ultramontanes ; and to take Care above all Things of giving Cause for a new Invasion of Foreigners : For the Experience of a very few Months had demonstrated that all *Italy*, when not oppressed by strange Nations, always followed the Authority of the *Venetian Senate*, but while the Barbarians were in *Italy*, instead of being followed and feared by others, it was obliged to join with the rest in their Dread of foreign Forces.

THESE

S. D.
1496.

THESE and the like Reasons, besides having no manner of Effect on an ambitious Majority, were over-ruled by the Persuasions of the Doge *Agostino Barbarico*, whose Authority was grown to such a Height as to exceed the Reverence paid to former Doges, and to deserve rather the Name of Power than Authority. For, besides having enjoyed that Dignity for many Years with happy Success, and his being endowed with many excellent and ornamental Gifts of Nature, he had by his artful Proceeding procured that many of the Senators, that took upon them to oppose those Members who, by the Fame of their Prudence, by their long Experience, and their having obtained the highest Posts, were of the greatest Esteem in the Republic, attached themselves to him, and ordinarily followed his Counsel, rather after the Manner of a Faction, than in a Way becoming the Senatorial Gravity and Integrity. This Doge, being very desirous of leaving a very precious Memory by the Enlargement of Empire, had not satisfied his Thirst after Glory by reflecting that under

under his Regency the Island of *Cyprus*, ^{A. D.}
by the Failure of the Kings of the House ^{1496.}
of *Lusignan*, was annexed to the *Venetian*
Dominions, but was much inclined to
embrace every Opportunity of increasing
their State. In Opposition therefore to
those who in the *Pisan* Cause advised the
contrary, he demonstrated, in a most pa-
thetic Manner, how useful and commo-
dious it would be for the Senate to acquire
Pisa, and of what Importance for re-
pressing the Audaciousness of the *Floren-*
tines, by whose Means, at the Death of
Filippomaria Visconti, they had lost the
Opportunity of making themselves Masters
of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and who in the
War of *Ferrara*, and in other Enterprises,
by their Readiness of Money, had done
them more Harm than any one of the
greater Potentates. Great would be their
Regret, he told them, and dear their Re-
pentance, if they let slip the Opportunity :
That *Italy* was not in a Condition for the
other Potentates to oppose them by them-
selves, and there was less Reason to be
afraid that, out of Indignation or Fear on
this Account, they would have Recourse

A. D. to the King of *France*: For the Duke of
1496. *Milan*, who had so much injured him,
would never venture to trust him ; the
Pope could not entertain such a Thought,
and the King of *Naples*, though he should
even have recovered his Kingdom, would
never more endure to hear the Name of
the *French* : That their Entrance into
Pisa, though taken ill by the other
Powers, was not an Event of so violent a
Nature, or the Danger so near, as to pre-
cipitate them on such Remedies as are
used only last in desperate Cases. For in
slow Disorders dangerous Medicines are
never hastily administered, Men thinking
it their Duty to take Time enough to ap-
ply them : And if in the present Weakness
and Disunion of the other *Italians* they
should out of Timidity reject so fair an Op-
portunity, it would be in vain to expect
to accomplish their Desire with greater
Security, when the other Potentates shall
have recovered their former Vigour, and
are secured from their Fears of the Ultra-
montanes. As a Remedy for too much
Fear, they ought to consider that human
Actions are all subject to many Hazards,

but

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but that wise Men know that all the Evils which may possibly happen do not always come to pass; for many Dangers vanish, either by the Kindness of Fortune or of Chance, and many are avoided by Prudence and Industry: We ought not therefore to confound, as is the Case with many who little consider the Propriety of Names, and the Substances of Things, Timorousness with Prudence, nor imagine those wise who presupposing all Dangers that are dubious as certain, and therefore being afraid of all, regulate their Resolutions as if all were sure to happen. Hence we can by no means call those wise or prudent who are more afraid of the Future than they ought to be; that Name, and that Praise much better agreeing to the Brave, who knowing and considering the Dangers, and by thus distinguishing themselves from the Rash, who neither know nor consider them, reason with themselves and reflect how often Men extricate themselves from a Multitude of Difficulties, sometimes by Chance, sometimes by Resolution. They were then to consult with Hope as well as Fear in their Resolutions, and not by presupposing uncertain

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1496.

Events as certain, so easily reject, as those on the other Side, the profitable and honourable Opportunities: But having before their Eyes the weak and divided State of the other *Italians*, and the Power and great Fortune of the *Venetian Republic*, with the Magnanimity and glorious Examples of their Ancestors, accept with a hearty Will the Protection of the *Pisans*, by which they would effectually make Way for them to obtain the Dominion of that City, which was without Question one of the most convenient Ladders for ascending to the Monarchy of all *Italy*."

The *Venetians take the Pisans under their Protection*. THE Senate then received the *Pisans* into their Protection by public Decree, with an express Promise to defend their Liberty. The Duke of *Milan* did not at first consider this Resolution with that Attention which it deserved, because, being excluded by it from keeping any of his Troops in *Pisa*, he was pleased in finding himself freed from that Expence; and, besides, he thought it not inconsistent with his Interest that *Pisa* should at the same Time be the Occasion of great Charges

Charges to the *Venetians* and *Florentines*,
persuading himself moreover that, by the
Greatness and Vicinity of his State to
the *Pisans*, and by the Memory of what he
had done for their Deliverance, they would
be so devoted to him as always to prefer
him before all others. These Imaginations
and fallacious Hopes were increased by a
Persuasion, in which, little reflecting on the
Mutability of human Affairs, he fondly
cherished himself, that he had *Fortune* as
it were under his Feet, and gave himself
out in public as the Son of that Goddess;
so vain was he become with prosperous
Success, and puffed up with Conceit that
through his Means, and by his Counsels
the King of *France* had passed into *Italy*!
ascribing to himself the Expulsion of
Piero de' Medici from the State of *Flo-*
rence for Disobedience to his Will; the
Revolt of the *Pisans* from the *Florentines*,
and the Driving the *Aragonians* his Ene-
mies out of the Kingdom of *Naples*; and
since that, after he had changed his Senti-
ments, the League of so many Potentates
against *Charles*, as the Effect of his Counsels
and Authority, as also the Return of *Ferdi-*

A. D.
1496.

THE HISTORY OF

A. D. ^{1496.} nando to the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Departure of the King of *France* out of *Italy* on Conditions unworthy of such a Pitch of Greatness, boasting that by his Industry and Authority he had been able to do more with the Governor of the Citadel of *Pisa*, than even the Will and Orders of his own King. By the same Rules measuring the Future, and judging all others inferior to himself in Prudence and Understanding, he promised himself the constant Direction of the Affairs of *Italy* at his Discretion, and that he could by his Industry turn any one off his Bias. Nor knew he how to dissemble those vain Conceits himself any more than those about him, either in Words or in outward Show, but was rather pleased that every one believed and spoke of him under this Character, and that *Milan* Night and Day resounded with vain Songs, and that every one celebrated in Verse, both in the vulgar and *Latin* Tongue, and with public and flattering Orations, the admirable Wisdom of *Lodovico Sforza*, on whom depended Peace and War in *Italy*, crying up to the very Skies his Name, and his Surname of *Moro*, which

which Surname was imposed on him from his Youth, because he was of a swarthy Complexion, and because of the Opinion then commonly conceived of his Subtilty, and willingly retained by him while his Government lasted*. A. D.
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Nor was the Authority of *Moro* less in the other Fortresses of the *Florentines* than it had been in that of *Pisa*, his Enemies seeming as much under his Government in *Italy* as his Friends. For though the King, after hearing the heavy Complaints of the *Florentines*, was extremely moved, and, with an Intent that the other Fortresses might at least be restored to them, sent *Robert de Vesls*, a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, with a new Commission, and Letters from *Ligni*, yet his Authority being of no more Value with others than it was with himself, such was the Audaciousness

E 4

* *Moro* in Italian signifies a Black. *Giovio* says he took his Name, not from his Complexion, but from the Mulberry Tree in his Arms; which in Italian is called *Moro*. A Mark of *Lsdowic's* Vanity was a Picture he hung up in the Castle, representing a Queen, on whose Robes were delineated all the Italian Cities, and himself in the Person of a Black with a Brush rubbing off the Dust.

A. D. ciousness of *Ligni*, who publicly affirmed
1496. that he did not proceed without the Will
of the King, that the Royal Commands
King were of little Estimation, thro' means of
Charles's Orders his own Orders in Conjunction with the
slighted by his ill Disposition of the Governors. Where-
Governorsfore the Bastard of *Bienne*, who, by
Orders and Authority from *Ligni*, com-
manded the Garrison of *Sarzana*, after he
had conducted the *Florentine* Troops and
Commissaries in order to receive Possession
of it, resigned it into the Hands of the *Ge-
noese* for Twenty-five Thousand Ducats :
and his Example was followed by the
Governor of *Sarzanello*, who did the same
on receiving a certain Sum of Money.
The Author and Manager of these Con-
tracts was *Moro*, who also, by sending *Fra-
cassa* with One Hundred Horse and Four
Hundred Foot, tho' under the Name of
the *Genoese*, to oppose the *Florentines*, pre-
vented them from recovering all the
Towns which they had lost in the *Luni-
giana*, after they had regained Part of them
by taking the Opportunity of employing for
that Purpose the Troops sent to receive *Sar-
zana*.

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NOT long after, *Entragues*, who had the Command also of the Fortresses of *Pietra Santa* and *Mutrone*, and had, besides, got into his Hands *Librafatta*, retaining this last, which, not many Months after, he yielded up to the *Pisans*, sold the others for Twenty Six Thousand Ducats to the *Lucchese*, precisely according to the Appointment of the Duke of *Milan*, who at first was willing that the *Genoese* should have them, but afterwards changing his Mind chose to gratify the *Lucchese*, that they might have some Motive to assist with more Readiness the *Pisans*, and to unite them, by means of this Kindness, the more firmly to his Interest. When these Proceedings were known in *France*, tho' the King shewed much Resentment against *Ligni*, and banished *Entragues* from the whole Kingdom, yet at the Return of *Bonnie*, who had not only been a Sharer in the Money of the *Pisans*, but had negotiated in *Genoa* the Sale of *Sarzana*, his Justification was accepted, and an Ambassador of the *Pisans*, who was sent with him to make it believed that they were willing

A. D. 1496. *ling* to be faithful Subjects to the Crown of France, and to take the Oath of Fidelity, was graciously received, tho' not long after, his Commission appearing to want Credentials, he was dismissed. On *Ligni* was laid no other Punishment than, as a Mark of his being excluded from the royal Favour, a Prohibition from the Liberty of sleeping, as usual, in the King's Chamber, to which he was soon restored, *Entragues* only remaining an Outlaw, tho' for no long Space of Time. In these Cases, besides the easy Nature of the King, and other Means and Favours, much is to be ascribed to a Persuasion, not without just Grounds, that the *Florentines* were under a Necessity not to fall out with the King. For the covetous Ambition of the *Venetians* and Duke of *Milan* being manifest on all accounts, it was taken for certain that, if the *Florentines* were not reinstated in *Pisa*, they would never consent to join in Confederacy with them for the Defence of Italy, to which they both endeavoured to induce them by Terror and Menaces, but made, however, no farther Attempt at present, contenting themselves with leaving in *Pisa* a

Num-

Number of Troops, sufficient to keep the ^{A. D.} Citizens in Heart, and prevent the intire ^{1496.} Loss of their Territory, the Danger of the Kingdom of *Naples* diverting their Thoughts from all other Cares. For *Virginio* had enlisted at *Bagno a Rapolano*, and afterwards in the *Perugian*, where he quartered for some Days, a great Number of Soldiers, and was marching, with others of *Virginio* the House of the *Orsini*, towards the ^{A- marches} *Abruzzi*. into the *bruzzi*; and the same Road was taken by the Troops under the Command of *Camillo* and *Pagolo Vitelli*, who sacked the little Town of *Montelione* for refusing to supply them with Provisions, which so terrified the other Towns of the Church, thro' which they were to pass, that they readily every where furnished them with Victuals and Lodging, and were not to be restrained by the Pope's severe Commands to the contrary. On these Motions, and much more from Assurances that new Succours were coming from *France* by Sea, it being believed that the Affairs of the *French* in the Kingdom of *Naples* were to receive some mighty Improvement, *Ferdinando*, who had no Money, and struggled with many

A. D. ¹⁴⁹⁶ many Difficulties, finding himself unable to support so great a Burden without greater Helps, was obliged to turn his Thoughts on some other Means for his Defence.

THE other Potentates had not in the Beginning comprehended *Ferdinando* in their Confederacy ; and tho', after he had recovered *Naples*, the Sovereigns of *Spain* had made Instances for his Admission, the *Venetians* had refused it, from a Persuasion that his Necessities would favour the Design which they had formed of reducing under their Subjection some Part of that Kingdom.

Ferdinando treats with the Venetians for Success.

FERDINANDO therefore, deprived of all other Hopes, for he expected no new Supplies from *Spain*, and the other Confederates would not take upon themselves so great a Charge, made the following Agreement with the *Venetian Senate*, the Pope, and the Ambassadors of *Spain*, by Commission from their Sovereigns, being Guarantees : That the *Venetians* should send into the Kingdom of *Naples* to his Assistance the Marquis of

Mantua,

Mantoua their General with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred light Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, and maintain the Fleet which they had already on the Coasts of that Country, but reserving Liberty to recal those Supplies whenever they should want them for their own Defence: That, for his present Necessities, they should lend him Fifteen Thousand Ducats; and, that they might have Security for recovering their Costs, *Ferdinando* was to make over to them *Otranto*, *Brindisi* and *Trani*, and consent that they should keep Possession of *Monopoli* and *Puglignano* which they had already in their Hands, but on Condition that they should restore them when they were reimbursed; but they were not to charge, either on account of the War, or the Garrisons, or Fortifications which they might make to the Places, above the Sum of Two Hundred Thousand Ducats. These Ports, by their Situation on the upper Sea, lying very convenient for the *Venetians*, made no inconsiderable Addition to their Greatness, which now, meeting with none to oppose it, the Counsels of those who would

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A. D. would have them to be more cautious of
1496. spreading all their Sails before a flattering
Gale being no longer regarded after ac-
cepting the Protection of *Pisa*, began to
extend itself thro' all Parts of *Italy*; for,
besides the Footing they had got in the
Kingdom of *Naples* and in *Tuscany*, they
had but lately taken *Astorre**, Lord of *Faenza*,
into their Pay, and his State under their
Protection, which lay very convenient for
keeping in Awe the *Florentines*, the City of
Bologna, and all the rest of the *Romagna*.
Besides these particular Helps from the
Venetians, *Ferdinando* received other As-
sistance from the Confederates; for the
Pope, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*, sent to his Succour some other Men
at Arms, listed in common; but the Duke,
who had not, as yet, intirely departed from
his dissembling Pretences of making no
Infringement on the Convention of *Ver-*
celli, tho' most of these Measures were
directed

* *Bembo* says, that the *Faventines* fearing that some of
their Exiles, Friends to the *Florentines*, might destroy
Astorre, sollicited the *Venetians* to take him under their
Protection: They accordingly sent for him to *Venice*, and
put a *Venetian* Governor into *Faenza*.

directed by his Counsels, refused to have ^{A. D.}
his Name made use of in the Levies or other
outward Services, consenting, however,
to contribute privately Ten Thousand Du-
cats every Month towards the Relief of the
Kingdom of Naples.

THE March of the *Orfini* and *Vitelli* into the *Abruzzi* secured that Province, which was in manifest Commotion against the *French*, *Teramo* and the City of *Chieti* being already revolted, and it was apprehended that *Aquila*, the Capital of that Country, would follow their Example. But now that City was confirmed in Obedience to the *French* by those Commanders, who recovered *Teramo* by Capitulation, and sacked *Giulia Nuova*; so that almost the whole Province of the *Abruzzi* was at the Devotion of the King of *France*, and the Affairs of *Ferdinando* manifestly appeared to be on the Decline in all Parts of the Kingdom. For almost all *Calabria* was in the Power of *Aubigni*, tho' the tedious Indisposition by which he was laid up in *Terace*, gave an Opportunity to *Gon-salvo*, by means of the *Spanish* Troops, and the

A. D. the Forces of some of the Lords of the
1496. Country, to keep alive the War in that Province. *Gaeta*, with many of the circumjacent Towns, was in the Hands of the *French*, the *Prefect of Rome*, with his own Regiment, and the Forces of his own State, recovered the little Towns of *Montecafino*, and infested the *Terra di Lavoro* on that Side ; and *Monpensier*, tho' greatly hindered from employing his Forces by Want of Money, obliged *Ferdinando*, who laboured under the like Scarcity of Money, and of many other Provisions, to shut himself up in strong Places, and to put all his Hopes in the Arrival of the *Venetian* Succours, which, because the Agreement between them had been made but a little before, could not be ready so soon as Occasion might require. *Monpensier* attempted to get Possession of *Benevento* by Treachery ; but *Ferdinando*, who had some Suspicion of it, suddenly entered the Place with his Troops. The *French* approaching *Benevento*, posted themselves at the Bridge of *Finocchio*, and took Possession of *Fenezano*, *Apice*, and many other neighbouring Towns. Here labouring under a
Scarcity

Scarcity of Provisions, and the Time being near at hand for collecting the Duty on the Sheep of *Puglia*, one of the most important Revenues of the Kingdom of *Naples*, for it used to amount yearly to Eighty Thousand Ducats, and is all collected in about a Month *, *Monpensier*, to deprive the Enemy of that Advantage, and no less to supply the extreme Necessities of his Troops, put himself on his March for *Puglia*, one Part of which Province was in his Possession, and another in the Hands of the Enemy. Nor was *Ferdinand* very far behind him, intent rather on obstructing the Progress of the Enemy by some Art or Diligence, than on coming to a Battle before his Auxiliaries were arrived.

AT this Time arrived before *Gaeta* the French Fleet, consisting of Fifteen large French Fleet at and Seven smaller Ships, on board of *Gaeta*. which were embarked at *Savona* Eight

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* *Giovio* says above One Hundred Thousand Ducats in Gold, and that *Monpensier* and *Persi* acted imprudently in carrying the War into *Puglia* on this Account, which was against the Sentiments of *Beaucaire*, who persuaded them to keep the Army near *Naples*.

A. D. ^{1496.} Thousand German Foot, levied in the Dominions of the Duke of *Gelderland*, and also those *Swiss* and *Gascons* that the King had before appointed to be transported on board the large Ships that were to be fitted out at *Genoa*. At the Approach of this Squadron *Ferdinando's Fleet*, which was cruising before *Gaeta* for preventing all Supplies of Victuals from entering it by Sea, being but ill provided with Necessaries for want of Money, sheered off. The *French Fleet* then entered the Port without Opposition, and landing their Troops took *Itri* and other neighbouring Places, and committed great Ravages all over the Country, and were in Hopes of getting Possession of *Sessa* by means of *Gianbatista Caracciolo*, who engaged to introduce them secretly into the Place; but *Don Federigo*, who had retired with the Troops under his Command into the Neighbourhood of *Taranto*, but was since ordered by *Ferdinando* to take the Charge of *Naples*, on Notice of the Plot, suddenly entered the City, and seized the Bishop and some

some others who were privy to the Con- A. D.
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spiracy *.

IN *Puglia*, where lay the Stress of the War, each Party getting the better by Turns, the Events proved various. The Season was so severe that both Armies were distributed in the neighbouring Towns, no single Place being large enough to quarter either Army: Their chief Employ was to make Excursions with large Parties of Horse, and to carry off Cattle; in which they gave a greater Proof of their Dexterity than of their Valour.

FERDINANDO had taken up his Residence with Part of his Troops in *Foggia*, having disposed of the rest in *Troja* and *Nocera*. Here, on Notice that between *San Severo*, where lay *Virginio Orsini*, come to the Assistance of *Monpensier* with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and the Town of *Porcino*, in which was *Mariano Savelli* with an Hundred Men at Arms, was drove together a prodigious Number of Sheep and other Cattle, he

F 2 took

* Ferdinand, a little before his Death, ordered the Bishop to be beheaded. *Bembo*,

A. D. took with him Three Hundred Men at
^{1496.} Arms, Eight Hundred light Horse*, and Fifteen Hundred Foot, and arrived by Break of Day at *San Severo*, where he posted himself with his Foot and Men at Arms in order to oppose *Virginio* if he made any Motion, and detached his light Horse †, who, dispersing themselves all over the Country, carried off a Booty of about Sixty Thousand Head of Cattle, and forced *Mariano Savelli*, who had fallen out of *Porcino* to disturb them, to retreat with the Loss of Thirty Men at Arms.

This Damage, with the Disgrace received, put *Monpensier* on marching towards *Foggia* for the Recovery of the Prey and of the lost Honour, where, Fortune favouring him beyond his Expectations, he met between *Nocera* and *Troja* Eight Hundred German Foot, who came by Sea to enter into the Pay of *Ferdinando*. They had

* *Giovio* says Seven Hundred, and attributes all the Glory to *Camillo Vitelli*, who here, for the first Time, made Use of Men with Guns on Horseback.

† These light Horse were Greeks, listed in *Macedania* by the *Venetians*.

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had left their Quarters at *Troja*, and rather hurried on by their own Rashness than in Pursuance of the King's Orders, and contrary to the Advice of *Fabritio Colonna*, who also quartered in *Troja*, were marching with a Design to join *Ferdinando* at *Foggia*.

Finding it out of their Power to save them-selves either by fighting or flying, and refusing Quarter they were all killed in Fight, but made the Enemy pay for the Victory with their Blood.

MONPENSIER, after this, presented himself with his Army in Order of Battle before *Foggia*; but *Ferdinando* suffering no Sallies to be made but only by the light Horse, the *French* moved off, and encamped at the Wood of the *Incoronata**, from whence, after they had stayed Two Days under a Scarcity of Provisions, and recovered the best Part of their Cattle, they returned back again before *Foggia*, and, after a Night's Stay, returned the next Day to *San Severo*, but not with all the Prey they had recovered, for in their Return thither Part of it was carried off by

F 3 *Ferdinando's*

* The *Incoronata* is a Church in the middle of a Wood.

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A. D. 1496. *Ferdinando's light Horse.* This Harrying
of the Cattle was the Occasion that either
of the Parties reaped but very little Bene-
fit from the Duty on Wool. A few Days
after the *French* were forced to decamp for
Want of Provisions, and marched to
Campobasso, which was in their Hands,
Coglionesi- from which Place they took by Storm *Cog-
lionessa*, or *Grigonisa*, a neighbouring
Town, where the *Swiss*, contrary to the
Will of their Commander, committed
such Cruelties, as indeed filled the Country
with Terror, but alienated the Affections
of Multitudes *; while *Ferdinando*, in-
tent on making the best Defence he
could, and waiting the Arrival of the
Marquis of *Mantoua*, in the mean time
put his Troops in good Condition with
the Help of Sixteen Thousand Ducats
sent him by the Pope, and with what
Money he had been able to collect by him-
self. At this Juncture the *Swiss*, and the
other Foot which came by Sea to *Gaeta*,
joined *Monpensier*; and on the other Side
the

* *Giovio* says the Town surrendered, and was after-
wards demolished by the *French* and *Germans*, the Men
killed, and the Women ravished.

the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who had entered the Kingdom, and proceeded to *Capua* by the Road of *San Germano*, and in his March taken, either by Force or Capitulation, many Towns, tho' of small Importance, about the Beginning of June, joined the King at *Nocera*, whither Don *Cæsar* of *Aragon* also conducted the Troops that had been quartered about *Taranto*. Thus were almost all the Forces of the *French* and *Ferdinando* assembled in neighbouring Places, the *French* superior in Infantry, and the *Italians* in Cavalry, so that the Event of the Contest seemed very doubtful, none being capable of judging to which of the two Parties Victory was most likely to incline.

THE King of *France* was consulting on Ways and Means for succouring his People ; for as soon as he was informed of the Loss of the Castles of *Naples*, and that, because the Fortresses were not restored to the *Florentines*, his Troops were disappointed of the *Florentine* Money and Auxiliaries, rouzed from that drowsy Negligence in which he seemed to have returned into

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France, he began to turn his Thoughts anew to the Affairs of *Italy* : And the better to disengage himself from every Thing that might retain him, and that, by shewing his Gratitude for the Benefits received in his Dangers, he might be enabled with the more Confidence to have Recourse once more to the Assistance of Heaven, he set out Post for *Tours*, and afterwards for *Paris*, to fulfil the Vows which he had made to *St Martin* and *St Denis* on the Day of the Battle of *Fornuovo*. From thence he returned with the same Expedition to *Lions*, where he grew every Day more eagerly bent on his Project, to which he was very much prompted by his natural Inclination, ascribing to himself the greater Glory, for having acquired so fine a Kingdom, and been the first of all the Kings of *France*, who, after many Ages, had in Person revived the Memory of the *Gallic Arms* and Victories ; and persuading himself that the Difficulties he had encountered in his Return from *Naples*, had proceeded more from his own Disorders than from the Strength or Valour of the *Italians*, whose Name in military Affairs

Affairs was no longer of any Value with the French. His Ardor was still heighten-<sup>A. D.
1496.</sup>ed by the eager Sollicitations of the Florentine Ambassadors, of the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincola, and of Gia jacopo di Trivulzi, who was returned to Court for that Purpose. With these joined in the same Instances Vitelozzo and Carlo Orsini, and afterwards Count Montorio, sent on Purpose by the Barons of the French Party in the Kingdom of Naples ; and to enforce all, the Seneschal of Beaucaire was come by Sea from Gaeta, and gave great Hopes of Victory, if proper Succours were sent without Delay ; but at the same Time assured his Majesty, that intire Destruction must soon ensue, if the Affairs of that Kingdom were any longer neglected. Besides these, some of the great Lords of France, who had formerly been averse to an Italian Expedition, encouraged the Undertaking, on account of the Dishonour that would result to the Court of France, from suffering an Acquisition made to be lost ; but much more in Consideration of the Damage that would be sustained by the Loss of such a Number of the French Nobility

A. D. Nobility in the Kingdom of *Naples.* Nor
1496. did these Designs receive any Check
from the Movements threatened by the
King of *Spain* on the Side of *Perpignan** ; for the Preparations being greater
in Name than in Fact, and the Forces of
that King of more Service in defend-
ing his own Kingdoms than for attack-
ing those of others, it was judged sufficient,
for removing all Apprehensions, to have
sent to *Narbonne* and the other Towns on
the Frontiers of *Spain* a good Number of
Men at Arms, not without a competent
Body of *Swiss.*

THE King then summoning a Council
of all the Lords and Persons of Emi-
nence that were found at Court, it was
resolved that *Trivulzi* should, with all
possible Speed, repair to *Asti*, with the Title
of *The King's Lieutenant*, and take with
him Eight Hundred Lances, Two Thou-
sand *Swiss*, and Two Thousand *Gascons*:
That

* *Ferdinando* of *Spain* attempted to frighten *Charles*
from the *Italian* Enterprise, by making a great Show of
Troops at *Perpignan*; but he never intended to make
War, because his Coffers were empty. *Giovio.*

That soon after the Duke of *Orleans* should A. D.
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pass the Mountains with more Troops ; and at last the King in Person, with all the other Provisions, should pass with so formidable an Appearance, that it was not to be doubted that the States of the Duke of *Savoy*, and of the Marquises of *Monferrato* and *Saluzzo*, which lay very commodious for making War against the Dutchy of *Milan*, would be at his Devotion. It was also believed that all the *Swiss* Cantons, except the Canton of *Bern*, which had engaged not to act against the Duke of *Milan*, would, with the greatest Alacrity, enter into his Pay. These Resolutions were prosecuted with the greater Consent from the Ardor of the King, who, before he entered the Council, had made pressing Intreaties to the Duke of *Bourbon*, that he would, in the most pathetic Manner, represent the Necessity of prosecuting the War with a very powerful Force : And afterwards in Council with the same Warmth he rebuked the Admiral, who, with some others of the same Sentiments, had endeavoured, not so much by directly contradicting, as by propounding a Multitude

A. D. ^{1496.} titude of Difficulties, indirectly to intimidate the Hearts of the rest, openly declaring that it was not in his Power to take any other Resolution, because the Will of God constrained him to return in Person. In the same Council it was resolved that Thirty Ships, among which was the *Normanda* †, a Vessel of huge Bulk, and another large Caraque belonging to the Knights of Rhodes, should sail from the Ocean, where they were stationed, to the Ports of Provence, where Thirty light Gallies and Galleons would be equipped for conveying to the Kingdom of Naples, under the Protection of so large a Fleet, a vast Supply of Troops, Provisions, Ammunition and Money; but, without waiting, however, till this Navy could be got in Readiness, a Squadron should immediately be dispatched with Men and Provisions on that Expedition. Besides all those Appointments it was resolved that Rigault, the King's Major-domo, should be sent to Milan. For tho' the Duke had not granted the two Caraques,

† The *Normanda*, according to *Bembo*, was of Twelve Hundred Ton.

Caraques, nor suffered an Armament to be made for the King at *Genoa*, and had only restored the Ships taken at *Rapalle*, but not the Twelve Gallies detained in the Port of *Genoa*, yet he endeavoured to excuse himself by the Disobedience of the *Genoese*, and continually held various Negotiations, by his Agents, with the King, to whom he had anew sent *Antonio Maria Palavisino* to assure him that he was disposed to observe the Convention made with him, and to demand a farther Term for the Payment of the Fifty Thousand Ducats to the Duke of *Orleans*. Though he would have reaped but little Benefit by these Arts, the King being very well acquainted with his Intentions, as well from other Actions, as because it had come to light by his Letters and Instructions which had been intercepted, that he was continually stimulating the King of the *Romans*, and the King of *Spain* to invade *France*, yet, in Hopes that Fear would induce him perhaps to what was contrary to his Will, *Rigault* was ordered to signify to him, without disputing on former Infringements, that it lay in his Power to cancel the Memory of

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1. D. of past Offences by setting himself seriously
1496. to observe his Engagements in restoring
the Caraques, and permitting an Armament
at *Genoa*. He was besides instructed to
acquaint him with the King's Passage,
which would prove to his very great Detri-
ment, if, while he was offered the
Means, he did not renew that Friendship
which the King was persuaded he had,
rather out of groundless Suspicion than for
any other Cause, imprudently despised.

THE Fame of the Preparations that
were making having reached *Italy*, had ef-
fected great Alteration, in the Confederates,
and above all in *Lodovico Sforza*, who be-
ing the first exposed to the Violence of the
Enemy found himself in very great Per-
plexity, especially when he understood
that, after *Rigault* had set out from the
Court, the King had with very rough
Words and Looks dismissed all his Agents.
Revolving therefore in his Mind the
Greatness of the Danger, and that all the
Mischiefs and Vexations of the War would
be confined within his State, he would easily
have complied with the King's Request,
if

if he had not been hindered by a Jealousy A. D.
arising from a Consciousness of the Injuries 1496.
he had done him, which created such a
Distrust on all Sides that it was more diffi-
cult to find Means for the Security of each
Party; than to come to an Agreement in
Points about which they differed; for
what might be agreed upon for securing
one Side rendering the Security of the
other precarious, none was willing to en-
trust with the Faith and Honour of ano-
ther what that other refused to entrust
with him. Thus *Lodovico*, forced by Ne-
cessity to take such a Resolution as was
most disagreeable to him, in order to ward
at least the Danger for a while, continued
to use the same Arts with *Rigault* which he
had put in Practice till this Time, giving
him hearty Assurances that he would
make the *Genoese* comply whenever the
King would give sufficient Security, in the
City of *Avignon*, for the Restitution of the
Ships, and that each Party should enter
into Engagements, giving Hostages for the
Performance, to attempt no Innovations to
the Prejudice of the other. This Nego-
tiation, which lasted many Days, had at
last,

A. D. last, on account of the many Cavils and
^{1496.} Difficulties that were started, the same Ef-
fect as the rest.

BUT *Lodovico*, not to spend the Time unprofitably, had, during this Negotiation, dispatched Expresses to the King of the *Romans*, to invite him to pass into *Italy*, by means of his Assistance and that of the *Venetians*; and had sent Ambassadors to *Venice* to sollicit the Senate to guard against the common Danger by concurring in this Expence, and to send such Supplies towards *Alessandria* as should be necessary for opposing the *French*. This they very readily offered to do, but did not shew the same Facility for the Passage of the King of the *Romans*, who was no great Friend to their Republic on account of their Posses-
sions on the *Terra-Firma* belonging to the Empire and the House of *Austria*; nor were they content that, at the common Expence, should be conducted into *Italy*; an Army wholly depending on *Lodovico*. The Duke however continued his Sollici-
tations, for, besides other Reasons that moved him to it, he was jealous of the

Stay

Stay of the *Venetian Forces* by themselves
 in the State of *Milan*, the *Senate*, who
 knew him to be of a very timorous Dispo-
 sition, being apprehensive that he would
 precipitate himself into a Reconciliation
 with the King of *France*, gave at last their
 Consent, and for the same Reason sent
 Ambassadors to *Cæsar*.[†]

A. D.
1496.

THE *Venetians* and the Duke were still
 apprehensive that as soon as the King had
 passed the Mountains, the *Florentines*
 would make some Attempt on the *Rivieras*
 of *Genoa*. They requested therefore of
Giovanni Bentivoglio, whom the Confederates
 had taken into their Pay, with Three
 Hundred Men at Arms, to attack the *Flo-*
rentines on the Borders of *Bologna*, assur-
 ing him that at the same time they should
 be molested by the *Senese* and the Troops
 that were in *Pisa*; and offering to engage
 themselves, if he could make himself Mas-
 ter of the City of *Pistoia*, to preserve it for
 him. But tho' *Bentivoglio* gave them

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G

Hopes

† The *Italians* gave *Maximilian* and his Predecessors
 the Name of *Cæsar*, tho', as said before, not of *Emperor*,
 till they were crowned by the Pope.

A. D. ^{1496.} Hopes of his Compliance, yet having his Intentions far different, and being under no small Apprehensions of the Coming of the *French*, he sent privately to the King to excuse himself for what was past on account of the Necessity arising from the Situation in which *Bologna* is placed, and offering to become his Dependent, and, out of Veneration to him, to abstain from molesting the *Florentines*.

BUT the Will of the King, tho' very ardent, was not sufficient to put in Execution the Measures that had been resolved, though his own Honour, and the Danger of the Kingdom of *Naples* required all possible Expedition. For the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, in whose Hands, besides the Management of the Finances, was the Direction of the whole Administration, though he did not openly oppose, yet so long retarded the whole Proceeding, by delaying the necessary Payments, that not one Provision was brought to Effect. His Motive to this Conduct was either an Opinion that the best Means to perpetuate his Greatness was, by incurring no Ex-
pence

pence but what conduced to the present ^{A. D.}
Profit or Pleasures of the King, to have no ^{1496.}
Occasion for daily representing the Diffi-
culties of Affairs, and the Necessity of
Money ; or because, as many suspected,
corrupted with Rewards and Promises,
he held a secret Correspondence either
with the Pope or the Duke of *Milan*.
Nor was this remedied by the Persuasions
and Commands of the King, sometimes
delivered in very angry and reproachful
Words ; for the Cardinal knowing his
Temper satisfied him with Promises con-
trary to Effects.

THE Execution of the Measures de-
signed beginning, by the Cardinal's Con-
trivance, to be thus retarded, the whole
Project was in a manner disconcerted, and
every Thing in Confusion by an unex-
pected Accident. For at the latter End
of *May*, when every one expected that
the King would in a short Time put him-
self in Motion in order to pass into *Italy*,
he took a Resolution to go to *Paris*, al-
ledging that, according to the Custom of
antient Kings, he intended, before his

G 2 Departure.

A. D. Departure from *France*, to take Leave,
1496. with the usual Ceremonies, of *St. Denis*,
and in his Passing by *Tours* of *St. Martin* ;
and that having proposed to pass into *Italy*,
plentifully provided with Money, that he
might not be reduced to the same Ne-
cessity in which he was the Year before,
it was requisite to induce the other Cities
of *France* to accommodate him with Mo-
ney by the Example of the City of *Paris*,
from which he could obtain no Supplies
if he went not thither in Person ; and his
Presence so near at Hand in those Parts
would quicken the March of the Men at
Arms who were in Motion from *Nor-
mandy* and *Picardy* ; promising also that,
before his Departure, he would dispatch
the Duke of *Orleans*, and that within a
Month's Time he should be returned to
Lions. But the truer and principal Mo-
tive to this Journey was believed to be an
Amour with a Lady of the Queen's Bed-
chamber, her Majesty being a little be-
fore gone to *Tours* with her Court. Nor
could the Counsels of his Ministers, nor
the pressing Intreaties and even Tears of
the *Italians*, remove the King from this
Resolution,

Resolution, though they demonstrated to him how detrimental it must be to lose the Time proper for War ; especially in such urgent Necessities of his own People in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and how prejudicial the Report, which would fly thro' *Italy*, that he removed at a Distance when he ought to have approached near ; that the Credit of Enterprises is altered by every little Accident, by every slight Rumour, and that it is very difficult to be recovered when once it begins to decline, though the Performances were afterwards much greater than Men had at first promised themselves. But the King, disregarding these Admonitions, after staying a Month longer at *Lions*, set out on his Journey, and never dispatched the Duke of *Orleans*, but sent *Trivulzio* with a few Troops to *Asti*, not so much to make any Provision for the War, as to confirm in his Interest *Filippo*, very lately succeeded by the Death of the little Duke, his Nephew, to the Dutchy of *Savoy*. Nor did he before his Departure make any other Provision for the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Naples*, than to send Six Ships loaded with Provisions to

A. D.
1496.

A. D. ^{1496.} Gaeta, giving Hopes that they should soon be followed by the grand Fleet, and to procure, by means of some Merchants at Florence, tho' but slowly, a Remittance of Forty Thousand Ducats to *Monpensier*, to whom the *Swiss* and *Germans* had protested that if they were not paid before the End of June, they would desert him, and pass over to the Camp of the Enemy. The Duke of *Orleans*, the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, and the whole Council remained at *Lions*, with Orders to hasten the Preparations, in which, if the Cardinal proceeded but slowly when the King was present, he was much slower in his Absence. But the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Naples* were in no Condition to wait the Slowness of these Remedies, the War being reduced within Bounds by the Assembling of the Forces from all Quarters, and by a Multitude of Difficulties which discovered themselves on both Sides, so that it was necessary to come to a speedy Decision.

FERDINANDO, after joining the *Venetians*, had taken *Castel Franco*, where he also

also received a Reinforcement of Two Hundred Men at Arms under *Giovanni Sforza* Lord of *Pesaro*, and *Giovanni Gonzaga*, Brother to the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who were General Officers in the Service of the Confederates; so that now his Army consisted of Twelve Hundred Men at Arms, Fifteen Hundred light Horse, and four Thousand Foot. The *French* at the same Time were encamped at *Circelle*, Ten Miles from *Benevento*; *Ferdinando* approached within Four Miles of them, and laid Siege to *Frangete di Monteforte*, which Place being well provided was not taken at the first Assault. The *French* decamped from *Circelle* in order to relieve it, but did not arrive in Season, the German Foot, who were in Garrison, for fear of a second Assault, surrendering, and leaving the Town to the Mercy of the Enemy. Had the *French* now known the Opportunity it would have been the Means of their Felicity, if, either through Imprudence or ill Fortune, they had not let it slip. For almost all allow that they might that Day have easily routed the Enemy's

G 4 Army,

A. D.
1496.

A. D. Army, which, the greatest Part of them
1496. being busy in plundering *Frangete*, paid

no Attention to the Orders of their Generals, who, perceiving that between the *French* and their Camp there was only one Valley, used their utmost Endeavours to get the Soldiers together. *Monpensier* was sensible of the grand Opportunity, as was also *Virginio Orsini*, the first of whom commanded, and the other, with Tears in his Eyes shewing the Victory certain, intreated the Men to pass the Valley without Delay, while the Camp of the *Italians* was full of nothing but Disorder and Tumult, and the Enemy partly busied in pillaging, and partly employed in carrying off the Plunder, were deaf to the Commands of their Officers. But *Perfi*, one of the principal Commanders under *Monpensier*, prompted either by juvenile Levity, or, as is rather believed, by Envy to the General's Glory, by representing the Disadvantage of passing the Valley, and climbing as it were under the Feet of the Enemy, with the strong Situation of their Camp, and openly dissuading the Soldiers from fighting, defeated that salutary Council;

sel ; and it is supposed that at his Instiga-
tion the *Swiss* and *Germans* mutinied and
demanded their Pay. *Monpensier*, there-
fore, being obliged to retire, returned be-
fore *Circelle*, where, the next Day, in
storming the Place, *Camillo Vitelli*, having
advanced to the Walls, and valiantly act-
ed the Part of an Officer and of a Sol-
dier, lost his Life by a Blow on his Head
with a Stone. On this Accident the
French decamped without taking the Place,
and marched towards *Arriano*, disposed
however, when an Opportunity offered,
to try the Fortune of a Battle. Quite
contrary to this Resolution was that of the
Aragonian Generals, and especially of the
Venetian Proveditors, who were firmly re-
solved not to hazard an Engagement. For
knowing that the Enemy began to feel
the Want of Provisions, and that they were
without Money, and seeing that the Succours
from *France* were long expected in vain, they
were in Hopes that their Distresses and In-
conveniences would increase upon them
daily, and that in the other Parts of the
Kingdom they would be reduced to great-
er Straits. For in the *Abruzzi* (where
Annibale,

A. D.
1496.

Camillo
Vitelli
killed at
Circelle.

A. D. Annibale, the natural Son of the Lord of
Camerino, who had entered himself a Vo-
lunteer in the Service of *Ferdinando*, with
Four Hundred Horse at his own Expence,
had lately routed the Marquis of *Bitonto*,) the
Duke of *Urbino* was expected with
Three Hundred Men at Arms. He was
lately taken into the Pay of the Confede-
rates, whose Fortune and more advantage-
ous Offers chusing rather to follow, he
had abandoned the Service of the *Floren-*
tines, to which he stood bound for more
than a Year yet to come, alledging in his
Excuse that as a Feudatory of the Church
he could not but obey the Commands of
the Pope. *Gratiano di Guerra* being on his
March to oppose him, and attacked on
the Plain of *Sermona* by Count *Celano* and
Count *Pepoli* with Three Hundred Horse,
and Three Thousand Foot of the Peasants,
put them to Flight.

THE Fortune of the *French* had mani-
festly begun to decline ever since they had
lost the Opportunity of obtaining a Victory
near *Frangete*, Difficulties, almost infinite,
concurring at once to distress them, as an

ex-

extreme Want of Money, a Scarcity of Provisions, the Hatred of the People, the Disagreement of the Generals, the Disobedience of the Soldiers, and the Desertion of Multitudes from the Camp ; some leaving it out of Necessity, others out of Choice. For neither had they the Means to collect any considerable Sums in the Kingdom of *Naples*, nor had they been provided with any Quantity of Money from *France*, the Supply of the Forty Thousand Duckets from *Florence* having been too long retarded. Hence for Want of Money, and from the Vicinity of many Towns that were covered by the Nearness of the Enemy, they were disabled from making the necessary Provision of Victuals, and the Army was full of Disorders, the Soldiers much dispirited, the *Swiss* and *Germans* every Day, in a tumultuous Manner, demanding their Pay, and the Dissensions between *Perzi* and *Monpensier* being of considerable Prejudice to all their Resolutions. Necessity therefore constrained the Prince of *Bisignano* to leave the Camp with his Troops, and march to the Protection of his own State, which was under Apprehensions

A. D.
1496.

THE HISTORY OF

A. D. 1496. apprehensions from the Forces of *Gonsalvo*.
Numbers also of the Soldiers of the Country daily left their Colours, not only because they received no Wages, but on account of their ill Treatment by the *French* and *Swiss* in the Division of the Prizes, and in the Distribution of Provisions. By these Difficulties, and especially by the Scarcity of Provisions the *French* Army was necessitated to retire by little and little from one Place to another, which greatly diminished its Reputation with the People. And tho' they were continually followed by the Enemy, they had never any Hopes of having it in their Power to engage, which was what *Monpensier* and *Virginio* above all things desired ; for the *Aragonians*, that they might not be forced to fight, always took care to encamp in strong Places, and where they might not suffer for want of Conveniencies. But *Filippo Roffo*, a *Venetian* Officer, with his Troop of One Hundred Men at Arms, marching to join them, was routed by the Prefect of *Rome*. At last the *French* Army being encamped under *Montecalvoli* and *Casalarbore* near *Arriano*, *Ferdinando* approaching them

them within Bow-shot, but still posting himself in a strong and advantageous Situation, reduced them to great Straits for want of Provisions, and also cut off their Water. They resolved therefore to decamp and march for *Puglia*, where they were in Hopes to find no Want of Victuals ; and being apprehensive, from the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, of the Difficulties that may be expected to attend Armies when on a Retreat, they silently decamped in the Beginning of the Night, and marched Twenty-five Miles without stopping. *Ferdinando* followed them in the Morning, but despairing to overtake them, sat down before *Giesualdo*, which Town he took the same Day, tho' it had formerly sustained a Siege of Fourteen Months. The *French* were greatly deceived in this Event ; for having determined to stop at *Venosa*, a Town strong by Situation, and abounding in Provisions, their Persuasion that *Ferdinando* would not so soon become Master of *Giesualdo*, was the Cause of losing so much Time at *Atella*, a Town which they had taken and plundered, that before they left it they were

A. D.
1496.

Giesualdo
taken.

A. D. were overtaken by *Ferdinando*, who after
1496. the taking of *Giesualdo* had hastened his
March. And tho' they repulsed a Part
of his Troops which advanced before the
rest, yet finding themselves unable to make
good their Retreat to *Venosa*, they took up
their Quarters in *Atella*, Eight Miles short
of it, with an Intention to wait for Relief
from some Quarter or other, and in Hopes
that by the Vicinity of *Venosa* and many
other circumjacent Towns in their Pos-
session they should not want for Provisions.
Ferdinando immediately encamped hard
by them, wholly intent on preventing
them from receiving any Supplies of Vic-
tuals, since he saw Hopes at present of
obtaining the Victory without Blood or
Danger. He therefore applied himself
to the cutting of a Multitude of Trenches
about the Place, and to make himself
Master of the neighbouring Towns, and
left no Work undone that Diligence could
effect. But his Design became every Day
more and more feasible from the Difficul-
ties of the *French*; for the *German* Infan-
try having received but Two Months Pay
since they left their own Conntry, and all
the

A. D.
1496.

the Terms at which they vainly expected their Money being expired, deserted in a Body to *Ferdinando*, which giving him farther Means of distressing the Enemy, and of extending his Quarters, rendered it more difficult to convey Provisions from *Venosa* and the neighbouring Towns to *Atella*; nor in that Place were there Provisions enough to support the *French* many Days, for there was but a small Quantity of Corn, and the *Aragonians* having destroyed a Mill that was on the River which ran near the Walls, they suffered also for want of Meal; and the present Inconveniences were not alleviated by Hopes of the Future, for no Sign of Relief appeared from any Quarter. But the Misfortune that happened in *Calabria* reduced their Affairs to the utmost Degree of Despair. For *Gonsalvo*, taking Advantage of the long Sickness of *Aubigni*, which occasioned many of his Soldiers to repair to the Army of *Monpenfier*, made himself Master of several Towns in that Province, and at last, with the *Spaniards* and a good Number of Soldiers raised in that Country, encamped at *Castrovillare*. Here receiving

A. D. ceiving Intelligence that Count *Meletto*
^{1496.} and *Alberigo da San Severino*, and many
other Barons, with a good Body of Troops
almost equal to his own, were encamped
French at Laino. at *Laino*, that their Numbers increased
continually, and that they designed, as soon
as they had a Superiority, to come and
attack him, he resolved to prevent them
in Hopes of finding them unprepared, as
imagining themselves secured by the Situa-
tion of their Camp. For the Castle of *Laino*
is seated on the River *Sapri*, which divides
Calabria from the *Principato*, and the
Town lies on the other Side of the River,
commanded by the Castle, which renders it
a secure Quarter against any Attack by the
High Road: And between *Laino* and
Castrovillare lies *Murano*, and some other
Towns belonging to the Prince of *Bisigna-*
no, and in Possession of the *French*. But
Gonsalvo, taking his Measures different to
their Expectation, decamped with all his
Forces from *Castrovillare* a little before
Night, and leaving the direct Road took
the broad Way, tho' much the longer and
more difficult, for he was obliged to pass
some Mountains, and arriving at the River,
ordered

Gonsalvo's
politic
March.

ordered his Foot to take their Way to the Bridge which is between the Castle and the Town, and on account of the same Security as abovementioned was but negligently guarded, while he himself with the Horse waded the River Two Miles higher, and arrived before Day at the Town, where, finding the Enemies without Centinels or Guards, he broke them in a Moment, and took Eleven Barons,<sup>A. D.
1496.</sup> <sup>He takes
Laino by
Surprize.</sup> and almost all the Soldiers Prisoners, for those who fled towards the Castle fell in with the Foot, who had already seized on the Pass of the Bridge. In consequence of this worthy Service, which was the first Victory obtained by *Gonsalvo* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, he recovered some other Towns in *Calabria*, and then marched with Six Thousand Men to join the Camp before *Atella*, at which, a few Days before, were arrived an Hundred Men at Arms belonging to the Duke of *Candia*, who was in the Pay of the Confederates, he himself with the rest of his Regiment remaining in the Territory of *Rome*.

1496.

Atella be-
sieged.

THE HISTORY OF

THE Arrival of *Gonsalvo* gave *Ferdinando* an Opportunity of blocking up *Atella* more closely: Three Parts of the Town were wholly shut up, on one Quarter by the *Aragonians*, on another by the *Venetians*, and on a Third by the *Spaniards*; so that all Provisions were in a manner stopt, especially as the *Venetian* *Stradiotti* scoured the Country, and took several Convoys, with the *French* that guarded them, coming from *Venosa*. Nor had the Besieged any Opportunity to go in Quest of Forage, except in the Night with large Escorts; and Means were found to prevent that also. *Pagolo Vitelli* ventured at Noon-day to go out with One Hundred Men at Arms, but several of them were cut off by an Ambush laid by the Marquis of *Mantoua*. Thus deprived of all Conveniences the Besieged were at last reduced to such Straits that they could no longer, even with Escorts, water their Horses at the River, and wanted the necessary Water for themselves. Oppressed therefore and overcome with so many Evils, and destitute of all Hopes, after enduring a Siege of

of Two and Thirty Days they were forced ^{A. D.} ~~to~~ ^{1496.} to surrender. For this Purpose having obtained proper Passes, they sent out *Perfi*, *Bartolomeo d'Alviano*, and a *Swiss* Officer to treat with *Ferdinando*, who agreed with them on the following Terms: That there should be a Truce for Thirty Days, during which Time none of the Besieged should go out of *Atella*, but be daily supplied by the *Aragonians* with necessary Provisions: That *Monpensier* should have Liberty to give Notice to the King of *France* of the Capitulation. and, if no Succours arrived in Thirty Days, give up *Atella*, with all the Places under his Command in the Kingdom of *Naples*, with all the Artillery that was within them. That his Men should be safe in their Persons and Effects, with the Liberty for every one to go from thence into *France*, either by Land or by Sea; and for the *Orsini* and the other *Italian* Soldiers with their Attendants to retire where they pleased out of the Kingdom: And that the Barons and others who had followed the Party of the King of *France*, if within fifteen Days they submitted to *Ferdinando*, should be free from all Punishment,

A. D. ^{1496.} ment, and restored to the Possession of
all that they enjoyed at the Beginning of
the War.

THE Term being expired *Monpensier* with all the *French*, and many of the *Swiss*, and with the *Orsini*, were conducted to *Castel di Stabbia*, by the Sea side. Here a Dispute arose whether *Monpensier*, as the King's Lieutenant General, and superior to all others, was obliged, as *Ferdinando* insisted, to cause Restitution to be made of every Place that was held by Commission from the King of *France* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. For *Monpensier* pretended that he was bound to no more than was in his Power to restore, and that his Authority did not extend so far as to command the Officers and Governors who were in *Calabria*, the *Abruzzi*, in *Gaeta*, and in many other Towns and Fortressies, and had received them in Trust from the King, and not from him. After several Days Debate *Ferdinando* pretending that he would give them Leave to depart, they were conducted to *Baja*; where, under Colour that the Vessels were not as yet

THE WARS IN ITALY. 101

got in Readiness for their Embarkation, A. D.
1496. they were so long detained that, being dispersed between *Baja* and *Pozzuolo*, on account of the bad Air and many other Inconveniences, they began to grow sickly; so that *Monpensier* died, and of the Remainder of his Troops, which exceeded Five Thousand Men, scarce Five Hundred got back safe into *France**. *Virginio* and *Pagolo Orsini*, at the Request of the Pope, who was now resolved to deprive that Family of their States, were confined in *Castel dell' Uovo*, and their Troops, commanded by *Giangiordano* Son of *Virginio*, and *Alviano*, were, by the Pope's Orders, disarmed by the Duke of *Urbino* in the *Abruzzi*. And *Giordano* and *Alviano*, who, by Orders from *Ferdinando*, had left their Troops on the Road, and returned to *Naples*, were committed to Prison. But *Alviano*, either by his own Industry, or by secret Orders from *Ferdinando*, who had a great Love for him, found Means to escape.

* *Giovio* writes, that *Monpensier* was invited by the Marquis of *Mantua* to leave that Air, and reside with him; but that he refused it, saying he would not abandon his Army. The same Writer says, that the bad Air carried off a great many *Aragonians* as well as *French*.

A. D.1496.

AFTER the Victory of *Atella*, *Ferdinando* dividing his Army into several Bodies for recovering the Remainder of his Kingdom, sent *Don Federigo* and *Prospero Colonna* to besiege *Gaeta*, and ordered *Fabritio Colonna* to the *Abruzzi*, where *Aquila* had already returned to his Obedience. *Fabritio* took by Storm the Castle of *San Severino*, and having cut off the Heads of the Governor and his Son for a Terror to others he laid Siege to *Salerno*. Here the Prince of *Bisignano* coming to a Parley with him made an Agreement for himself, the Prince of *Salerno*, Count *Capuccio*, and some other Barons on Condition of enjoying their States, with Liberty to *Ferdinando*, for his own Security, to keep Garrisons in their Castles for a certain Term; after which Agreement they went to *Naples*. Nor was there any great Resistance made in the *Abruzzi*; for *Gratiano di Guerra*, who was in that Province with Eight Hundred Horse, being no longer in a Condition to defend himself, retired to *Gaeta*. *Gonsalvo* returned into *Calabria*, the greatest Part of which was in

in the Hands of the *French*: Here *Aubigni* made some Resistance, but at last retired to *Groppoli*, and having lost *Manfredonia* and *Cosenza*, which last had been plundered before by the *French*, destitute of all Hope he agreed to evacuate all *Calabria*, and had Liberty to return into *France* by Land. Certain it is, that many of these Losses were occasioned by the Negligence and ill Conduct of the *French*. *Manfredonia* was well fortified, and being seated in a plentiful Country might have been easily furnished with Provisions; and the King had left *Gabriello di Montefalcone* for Governor, because he had a high Opinion of his Valour; yet he was obliged to deliver up this important City, after a few Days Siege, for want of Provisions. Other Places, that could have defended themselves, surrendered, either out of Cowardice, or for Want of Resolution of Mind sufficient to sustain the Inconveniencies of a Siege. Some of the Governors found their Castles very well victualled, but sold the Provisions; and therefore were forced to capitulate at the first Appearance of the Enemy. This Behaviour rendered the

A. D.
1496.

A. D. French despicable in the Kingdom of Naples,
^{1496.} and made them entirely lose the Reputation they had formerly gained, when the Person who was left Governor of *Castel del Nuovo* by *Giovanni d'Anjou* held it out many Years after the Victory of *Ferdinando*; nor did he surrender at last till the Garrison was almost famished.

Thus the whole Kingdom being recovered except *Taranto*, *Gaeta*, and some Towns held by *Carlo Sanguine*, and *Monte di Sant' Angelo*, from whence *Don Julian de Lorraine* infested the circumjacent Territories highly to his Reputation, *Ferdinando* in the Height of his Glory, and in great Hopes of equalling the Grandeur of his Ancestors, having made a Progress to *Somma*, a Village seated at the Foot of Mount *Vesuvius*, where the Queen his Consort resided, either from his late Fatigues, or from some new Disorder, fell so violently ill that he was carried, with little Hopes of Recovery, to *Naples*, where he died in a few Days, and within a Year after the

the Decease of his Father *Alfonso* *, greatly regretted on account of his late Victory, and for his Magnanimity, and many other royal Virtues, which shone with an uncommon Splendor, and rendered his Name illustrious, not only in his own Kingdom, but through all *Italy*, where he was in the highest Reputation for his Valour. Dying without Issue, he was succeeded by his Uncle Don *Federigo*, the Kingdom of *Naples* having now seen Five Kings in the Space of three Years †.

A. D.
1496.

As soon as *Federigo* had Notice of his Nephew's Death, he left the Siege of *Gaeta* and went to *Naples*, where the old Queen, his Mother-in-Law, put him in Possession of *Castel Nuovo*, contrary to the Expectation of many, who thought she would keep it at the Disposition of her Brother *Ferdinando King of Spain*. *Federigo* came to the Crown, not only with the Acclamations of the People of *Naples*,

but

* He was taken with a Flux, occasioned by the immoderate Embraces of his new Consort *Giovanna*, Daughter to his Grandfather King *Ferdinando*, and died October 6, 1495, aged 29 Years. *Giovio*.

† The Five Kings were the Four *Aragonians* and *Charles VIII.*

A. D. but also of the Princes of *Salerno* and *Bisignano*, and Count *Capuccio*, who were
^{1496.} the first that proclaimed him, and the foremost that received him at his Landing, and saluted him King; being much better satisfied with him than with the deceased King for the Mildness of his Temper, and because there had been no small Suspicion that *Ferdinando* designed, as soon as he should have better settled his Affairs, to prosecute with the utmost Rigour all those who had in any Manner shewn their Inclinations to the *French*: Wherefore, *Federigo*, to reconcile them entirely to himself, restored to every one of them their Fortresses, for which he was highly commended.

BUT these Disorders and Miscarriages, attended with so much Loss and Disgrace, had no Effect in quickening the Spirits and Preparations of the King of *France*, who, not knowing how to debar himself of his Pleasures, delayed Four Months his Return to *Lions*. And tho', during that Time, he had often repeated his Orders

A. D.
1496.

ders to his Officers, who had remained at *Lions*, to hasten forward the Preparations both by Land and Sea, and the Duke of *Orleans* had long waited in Readiness to set out, yet the Men at Arms having their Payments retarded by the usual Artifices of the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, made but slow Marches towards *Italy*: And the Fleet that was to assemble at *Marseilles* took up so much Time in equipping, that the Allies had Leisure to send first to *Villafranca*, a very capacious Harbour, near *Nizza*, and afterwards to the very Mouth of the Port of *Marseilles*, a Fleet fitted out at the common Expence at *Genoa*, in order to prevent the *French* from putting to Sea for the Kingdom of *Naples*. And besides this Slowness, occasioned principally by the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, some more secret Cause was suspected, which with much Art and Industry was nourished in the King's Breast by those who, for various Reasons, endeavoured to divert his Thoughts from the Affairs of *Italy*. For it was doubted that he was of himself disposed to be jealous of the Greatness of the

A. D. 1496. the Duke of *Orleans*, who by the Victory
would acquire to himself the Dutchy of
Milan: And he was induced to believe
that it was not safe for him to leave *France*
before he had made some Composition
with the Sovereigns of *Spain*, who, to
testify their Desire of a Reconciliation, had
sent Ambassadors to him, to propose a
Truce, and other Means of an Agreement.
Many also advised him to wait the ap-
proaching Delivery of the Queen, since it
was not suitable to his Prudence, nor to
the Love which he ought to bear to his
People, to expose his own Person to so
many Dangers before he had a Son to
succeed him in his ample Dominions; a
Reason which became more forcible by
the Queen's Delivery, for the Child, a
Boy, died in a few Days. Thus, partly
by the Negligence and Weakness of the
King, and partly by the Difficulties art-
fully interposed by others, the Provisions
were so long delayed, as to occasion the
Destruction of the Army, with the total
Loss of the Kingdom of *Naples*: And the
same Fate would have attended his *Italian*
Allies, had they not trusted to themselves,
and

and constantly stood in Defence of their
own Properties.

A. D.
1496.

IT was mentioned above, that, from an Apprehension of the *French* Preparations, though more for the Sake of *Lodovico Sforza* than of the *Venetians*, a Treaty was begun for causing *Maximilian* to pass into *Italy*. And now, while the same Fear continued, it was agreed that the *Venetians* and *Lodovico* should grant him a monthly Subsidy of Twenty Thousand Ducats for Three Months, to enable him to bring with him a certain Number of Horse and Foot. As soon as this Convention was made *Lodovico* set out, in Company with the Ambassadors of the Allies, for *Manzo*, a Place beyond the *Alps*, on the Borders of *Germany*, where he had appointed an Interview with *Maximilian*. After a long Conference *Lodovico* retired the same Day on this Side the *Alps* to *Bormi*, a Town in the Dutchy of *Milan*; and *Cæsar* the next Day, under Pretence of hunting, passed over to the same Place, where, in a Debate of Two Days, the Time and Manner of his Passage into *Italy* were settled, after which

A. D. which he returned into Germany, to hasten
1496. the Execution of what had been resolved.
But, in the mean time, the Noise of the French Preparations abating, so as to seem to render his Passage unnecessary on that Account, *Lodovico* designed to serve himself for his Ambition of what he had before procured for his own Security. Continuing therefore to sollicit the Passage, and the *Venetians* not caring to concur in promising the Emperor Thirty Thousand Ducats, which he demanded over and above the Sixty Thousand that had been promised him, he obliged himself to answer that Demand, in consequence of which *Maximilian* passed into *Italy* a little before the Death of *Ferdinando*. When he was near *Milan*, and heard the News of that Prince's Decease, he had some Thoughts of using his Interest that the Kingdom of *Naples* might be transferred to *Giovanni*, the only Son of the King of *Spain*, and his Son-in-law. But *Lodovico* having demonstrated to him that; as such a Step must be disagreeable to all *Italy*, it would disunite the Confederates, and consequently favour the Designs of the King of *France*,

Maxi-
milian
comes in
to Italy.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

III

France, he not only laid aside that Project,
but wrote Letters in favour of Federigo's
Succession.

A. D.
1496.

He was attended in his Passage into Italy by a very small Number of Troops *, but it was reported that he would soon be followed by a larger Body, sufficient to compleat the Number he had engaged to bring with him. He had took up his Quarters at *Vigevano*, where in a Council held in his Presence, at which assisted *Lodovico*, the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, sent by the Pope as his Legate to *Cæsar*, and the other Ambassadors of the Allies, it was proposed to march into *Piedmont*, in order to make themselves Masters of *Asti*, and to separate from the French Interest the Duke of *Savoy* and the Marquis of *Monferrato*, as Members dependant on the Empire, whom *Cæsar* took Care to get summoned in order to meet and confer with him in some Town of *Piedmont*. But his Forces being contemptible, and the Effects no Way

cor-

* His Attendance was so small, that he was ashamed of it ; and to avoid the Crowds that flocked about him, he avoided going into *Como* and *Milan*.

A. D. 1496. correspondent to the Authority of the imperial Name, neither of these Princes consented to wait upon him ; and as to the Enterprise on *Asti*, no Success could be expected. He also cited to appear before him the Duke of *Ferrara*, who, under the Title of Feudatory of the Empire, was in Possession of the Cities of *Modena* and *Reggio*, offering him for the Security of his Person the Word and Faith of *Lodovico* his Son-in-law : But he refused to come to him, alledging in Excuse that it suited his Honour to reject his Request, because he still kept deposited in his Hands the *Castello* of *Genoa*.

Lodovico therefore stimulated by his old Ambition, and by Displeasure that *Pisa*, so much coveted by himself, should fall under the Power of the *Venetians*, with so much Danger to all *Italy*, and being desirous to put a Stop to that Proceeding, advised *Cæsar* to take a Progress to that City, persuading himself by most fallacious Reasonings that the *Florentines*, finding themselves too weak to resist both him and the Forces of the Confederates, would be necessitated

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cessitated to renounce their Alliance with France, and would not know how to make Cæsar the Arbitrator for terminating their Differences with the *Pisans*, if not by an Agreement; at least in a Way of Justice; and that *Pisa* and all its Territory should be put into Cæsar's Hands: To which Measure he was in Hopes; by his Authority; to induce the *Pisans* to give their Consent; and that the *Venetians* would not, especially when all the other Allies concurred in their Approbation; make Objections to a Conclusion so beneficial to the Public, and altogether honourable in its own Nature. For *Pisa*; being in antient Times a Town of the Empire, the Cognisance of the Rights of those who pretended to it appeared to belong to none but Cæsar; and *Pisa* being deposited in Cæsar's Hands, Lodovico hoped by Money; and by the Authority he had with him easily to obtain a Grant of the Premises to himself. This Point being proposed in Council; under a Colour of improving the Coming of Cæsar, since the Fear of a French War had, for the present; ceased; for inducing the *Florentines* to join with

A. D. the Confederates against the King of
1496. France, pleased that Prince, who was very
sorry that his Coming into Italy should
produce no Effect at all : And therefore,
by his vast and boundless Projects, and no
less by his Irregularities and immense
Prodigality, being always in Want of
Money, he was in Hopes that Pisa would
prove an Instrument for squeezing very
large Sums from the Florentines, or from
some others. The Proposition was ap-
proved by all the Confederates as grealy
conducive to the Security of Italy, the
Venetian Ambassador not contradicting it :
For that Senate, tho' well apprised of the
Tendency of Lodovico's Projects, were
confident of easily frustrating them, and
were in Hopes that the Coming of Cæsar
would facilitate to the Pisans the Acquisiti-
on of Livorno, which united to Pisa would
manifestly deprive the Florentines of all
Hopes of ever recovering that City.

THE Allies had often sollicited the
Florentines to join with them ; and when
the ill Consequences of the Passage of the
French were most apprehended, they had
given

given them Hopes of obliging themselves to operate in such a Manner that *Pisa* should return under their Dominion. But the *Florentines* suspecting the covetous Ambition of the *Venetians* and *Lodovico*, and unwilling, out of Levity, to relinquish their Attachment to *France*, were never much inclined to hearken to those Offers. They were restrained also by the Hopes of recovering by the Passage of the King the Towns of *Pietra Santa* and *Sarzana*, which they could not expect to obtain of the Confederates; and much more because, in forming their Judgment more from their own Merits, and from what they had suffered for the King, than from his Nature and Manners, they persuaded themselves that, in consequence of his Success, they should be put in Possession, not only of *Pisa*, but of almost all the rest of *Tuscany*. This Notion was cherished in them by the Speeches of *Girolamo Savonarola*, who was continually predicting abundant Felicity, and Enlargement of Empire, which were predestinated to happen after a World of Vexations to be endured by that Republic, and most terrible Calamities.

A. D.
1496.

A. D. ties which would befall the Court of *Rome*,
1496. and all the other *Italian* Potentates. Many judicious Persons despised both the Preacher and his Predictions; yet the Bulk of the People generally paid a great Regard to all he said, and amongst them not a few of the most considerable Citizens, some out of Simplicity, some out of Ambition, and others out of Fear. Wherefore, the *Florentines* being disposed to continue in Friendship with the King of *France*, it was no Wonder that the Allies should be so desirous to compel them by Force into Measures to which their Wills were utterly averse; especially as it did not seem to be attended with many Difficulties. For the *Florentines* were obnoxious to their Neighbours, and could have no Hopes of any present Assistance from the King of *France*; who would hardly give himself any Concern for their Affairs, when, with so much Indolence, he had abandoned his own natural Subjects; and the vast Expences with the Diminution of the public Revenue, which they had supported these Three Years, had so exhausted them, that

that it was not believed they could bear
to be long distressed.

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FOR this very Year the *Florentines* had continually prosecuted the War against the *Pisans* with various Events, remarkable more for the Skilfulness in War, demonstrated in a Multitude of military Operations on both Sides, and for the Obstinacy with which Affairs were managed, than for the Greatness of the Armies, or the Largeness of the Places about which they fought, being only some little Towns of no Note, and in themselves of small Consequence. Thus, a little after the Citadel had been resigned to the *Pisans*, and before the Arrival of the *Venetian* Auxiliaries at *Pisa*, the *Florentine* Army, after taking the little Town of *Buti*, having laid Siege to *Calci*, and, before they had taken it, to secure their Convoys of Provisions, erected a Redoubt on *Monte della Dolorosa*, the Garrison, through their Negligence were surprised by the *Pisans*. And not long after *Francesco Secco*, with a good Number of Horse, being quartered in *Buti* for securing the Convoys of Provi-

A. D. 1496. sions to *Ercole Bentivoglio*, who lay before the little Fortress of Mount *Verrucola*, was surprised by a Body of Foot that sallied out of *Pisa*, and being in a difficult Place for Horse to act, lost a good Number of them. These Successes seemed to put the Affairs of the *Pisans* in a better Situation, and there were Hopes of further Advantages, for the Succours from *Venice* began now to arrive. *Ercole Bentivoglio*, who had his Quarters in the little Town of *Bientina*, on Advice that *Gianpagolo Manfrone*, an Officer of the *Venetians*, was, with the first Column of their Forces, arrived at *Vico Pisano*, two Miles from *Bientina*, feigning Fear, and sometimes drawing out into the Field, and again, as soon as he discovered the *Venetians*, retiring into *Bientina*, after he saw them full of Boldness and Heedlessness, drew them, one Day, with great Craft, into an Ambush, where they were totally defeated, most Part of their Horse and Foot killed, and the rest pursued to the Walls of *Vico Pisano*. But the Joy of this Victory was allayed by the Loss of *Francesco Secco*, who had joined *Ercole* that Morning, and in

the

Retreat was killed by a Musket Shot*. *A. D.*
After this the other Columns of the *Venetians*, *1496.*
among whom were Eight Hundred Stradiotti, arrived under the Command of the Proveditor *Giustiniano Morosini*. The *Pisans* being now much superior, *Ercole*, who was very well acquainted with the Country, not chusing to hazard an Engagement, nor willing to quit the Field, pitched his Camp in a very strong Post between the Castle of *Pontadera* and the River *Era*, which, by the Commodiousness of its Situation, put him in a Condition of restraining, in a great measure, the Insults of the Enemy, who, during the rest of the Campaign, only took the little Town of *Buti*, which surrendered at Discretion, and employed themselves in plundering all the Country with their Stradiotti, Three Hundred of whom, that had made an Incursion into the *Valdera*, were routed by some Troops that *Ercole* sent after them.

* Both *Giovio* and *Bembo* ascribe the Glory of this Action to *Francesco Sacco*, without so much as mentioning *Bentivoglio*.

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1496.

THE Florentines were, at the same Time, infested by the *Seneze*, who taking an Opportunity from their Distresses in the *Pisan*, and stimulated by the Allies, sent the Lord of *Piombino* and *Giovanni Savelli*, to besiege the Fort at the Bridge of *Valiano*. But on Advice that *Rinuccio da Marciano* with some Troops was coming to relieve the Place, the Besiegers retired with Precipitation, leaving behind them Part of their Artillery. Wherefore the Florentines having secured their Country on that Side, ordered *Rinuccio* with his Forces into the Territory of *Pisa*, so that the Armies being in a Manner equal, the War was confined among the little Towns on the Hills, whose Inhabitants being well affected to the *Pisans*, the Operations proceeded rather to the Disadvantage of the Florentines. It happened also that the *Pisans* entering by Treachery the little Town of *Ponte Sacco*, surprised a Regiment of Men at Arms, and took *Lodovico da Marciano* Prisoner, tho' out of Apprehensions from the *Florentines* that lay near, they immediately abandoned the Place, and the better to render themselves

themselves Masters of the Hills, which were of great Importance on account of the Provisions brought from thence to *Pisa*, and because they cut off the Communication of the *Florentines* with *Livorno*, they fortified most of the little Towns, one of which, *Sojano*, became memorable for an extraordinary Accident: For the *Florentines* having decamped and marched to that Place with a Resolution of taking it the same Day, and for that End spoiled all the Passes of the River *Cassina*, and posted Men at Arms drawn up in Order on the Bank, for preventing all Relief, whilst *Pietro Capponi*, the *Florentine* Commissary, was attentive in planting the Artillery, he received a Musket Shot thro' the Head from the Town, which killed him on the Spot: An End, considering the Obscureness of the Place, and the small Importance of the Enterprise, not suitable to his Merit. On this Occasion the Siege was raised without any farther Attempt. At this Time the *Florentines* were also obliged to send Troops into the *Lumigiana* to relieve the Fort of the *Verrucola*, attacked

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1496.

A. D. attacked by the Marquisses of *Malaspina**,
1496. with the Assistance of the *Genoese*, who
were easily put to Flight.

THE Forces of the *Pisans* had for some Months past been very considerable, for besides the Men of the Town and its Territory, who by long Exercise were become warlike, the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan* had supplied them with great Numbers both of Horse and Foot, but much the greater Part was sent by the *Venetians*. The Troops of the Duke began to diminish for want of being duly supplied, for which Reason the *Venetians* sent a Reinforcement of One Hundred Men at Arms, and Six light Gallies, laden with Provisions, not sparing any Expence necessary for the Security of the City of *Pisa*, and to engross the Affections of the Inhabitants, who grew every Day less hearty

+ The Marquisses of *Malaspina* had of long time been Sovereigns of great part of the *Lunigiana*. *Martio L. Turbone*, of a noble *Roman Family*, was the first that settled there; from *Martii* their Name was changed to *Malaspina*, for Reasons given in the History of *Milan*, and more particularly by *Porcacchi*.

hearty in their Devotion to the Duke of Milan, abominating him for his niggardly Temper, which would not suffer him to be at any Loss in making Provisions for them, as also for his Falseness and Inconstancy : For sometimes he appeared zealous in their Affairs, at other times proceeded but coldly; whence calling in Question his Intentions they imputed it to him that *Giovanni Bentivoglio* had not taken the Field, and damaged the *Florentines*, as he was commissioned by the Confederates, and the rather because it was known that he had failed him in a great Part of the Payments, either through Avarice, or because he was pleased with the Distresses but not with the total Oppression of the *Florentines*; by which manner of Proceeding he had of himself thrown the Affairs of the *Pisans* on a Footing contrary to his own Intentions, and the End for which a Resolution, of which he was himself the Author, was taken in the Council of the Allies that *Cæsar* should go to *Pisa*.

THE HISTORY OF

IT being resolved, then, that *Cæsar* should visit *Pisa*, he sent two Ambassadors to *Florence*, to signify that, in order to execute in a powerful Manner the Enterprise, which he had formed in his Mind against the Infidels, he had thought it necessary to pass into *Italy* for pacifying and securing the Peace of that Country ; for which Reason he required of them to declare together with the other Confederates for the Defence of *Italy*, or, if they were averse to such a Step, to manifest at least their Intentions : That he designed for the Reason aforesaid, and because it was an Affair that concerned the Imperial Authority, to take Cognizance of the Differences between them and the *Pisans* ; and therefore desired that they would suspend Hostilities till he had fully heard the Reasons on all Sides, which he was certain the *Pisans*, to whom he had sent the like Orders, would take Care to do ; assuring them, in very civil Terms, that he was ready to administer impartial Justice. To his Message, after commanding, in respectful Terms, the Resolution of *Cæsar*, and testifying a very great

great Confidence in his Goodness, it was
answered that the *Florentines* would soon
send and make known their Intentions
in a particular Manner by a special Em-
bassy.

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BUT in the mean Time the *Venetians*,
to leave no Opportunity for the Emperor
or the Duke of *Milan* to seize on *Pisa*, sent
thither, with the Consent of the *Pisans*,
their General *Annibale Bentivoglio*, with a
Reinforcement of One Hundred Men at
Arms, and soon after more Stradiotti with
One Thousand Foot ; signifying to the
Duke that their Republic being a Lover
of free Cities was willing to assist the *Pi-
sans* in the Recovery of their Territory.
By the Assistance of these Troops the *Pi-
sans* proceeded in the Recovery of almost
all the little Towns on the Hills. By
these Benefits of the *Venetians*, and by
their Readiness to answer their Demands,
which were manifold, sometimes of
Troops, sometimes of Money, and some-
times of Provisions and Ammunition, the
Will of the *Pisans* grew so conformable
to that of the *Venetians*, as to transfer all
the

A. D. the Love and Confidence which they had
^{1496.} placed on the Duke of *Milan* to the *Venetian* Senate, whom they heartily wished
to continue to be their Defenders. They
sollicited, however, the Coming of *Cæsar*,
in Hopes that with the Forces which were
in *Pisa*, united to those that he would
bring with him, they might easily get Pos-
session of *Livorno*. On the other Side the
Florentines, who, besides other Difficulties,
at that Time laboured under a very great
Dearth, stood in great Fear, seeing them-
selves obliged to stand alone against the
Power of so many Princes. For there
was no Potentate in *Italy* that would assist
them, and they had been certified by Let-
ters from their Ambassadors in *France*,
that from that King, with whom they
had made the most earnest Instances
to be succoured in so great a Dan-
ger, at least with a Sum of Money, no
Relief was to be expected. Only *Piero*
de' Medici gave them no further Concern,
for the Allies had thought fit not to make
use of his Name or Interest in this Under-
taking, having found by Experience that
the Fear of his Restoration had disposed
the

the *Florentines* to unite the more firmly for
the Preservation of their Liberties.

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1496:

LODOVICO all this while, under Pretence of being zealous for their Safety, and uneasy at the Grandeur of the *Venetians*, was continually exhorting them in pressing Words to refer themselves to *Cæsar*, setting before them a Multitude of Terrors and Dangers, and proposing it as the only Expedient for wresting *Pisa* out of the Hands of the *Venetians*, which would immediately be followed by their reinstating themselves in the Dominion of that City, as a Step very necessary for the Quiet of *Italy*, and on that Account desired by the King of *Spain*, and by all the rest of the Confederates. But the *Florentines*, neither moved with these vain and insidious Allurements, nor terrified with so many Difficulties and Dangers, resolved to make no Declaration with *Cæsar*, nor refer their Rights to his Arbitration, unless they were first restored to the Possession of *Pisa*. For they put no Confidence in his Will, nor in his Authority, every one knowing that he had no Forces nor Money

of

A. D. of his own, but proceeded by the Directions
1496. of the Duke of *Milan*; nor did it appear
that the *Venetians* were disposed, or under
a Necessity to abandon *Pisa*. Wherefore
they cheerfully applied themselves to for-
tify and provide, as well as they could,
Livorno, and to assemble all their Troops
in the Territory of *Pisa*. To shew, how-

The *Flo-* rentines send Am- bassadors to Maxi- milian. ever, that they were not averse to an A-
greement, and to use their Endeavours for
mitigating the Spirit of *Cæsar*, they sent
Ambassadors to him, who was already ar-
rived at *Genoa*, with an Answer to what
his Ambassadors had signified to them at
Florence. Their Instructions were to per-
suade him that it was not necessary for
them to proceed to any Declaration, since
he might promise himself from the Re-
public of *Florence*, out of the Veneration
which they had for his Name, all that he
could desire; to represent to him that no-
thing was more suitable to his pious In-
tentions of restoring Peace to *Italy* than
the immediate Restitution of *Pisa* to the
Florentines; because from that Root sprung
all those Resolutions of theirs which had
occasioned so much Uneasiness to himself
and

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and to his Allies, and because *Pisa* was the Motive that had induced some others to aspire to the Empire of *Italy*, and for that End taken Care that it should be kept continually embroiled ; by which Words, though not in express Terms, were signified the *Venetians* : That it was unbecoming his Justice that those who had been despoiled by Violence should be bound, contrary to the Disposition of the Imperial Laws, to compromise for their Rights before they were reinstated in their Possessions : Concluding, that, on obtaining of his Majesty this Preliminary, the *Florentine Republic*, having no other Cause to desire any thing more than Peace with every one, would make all those Declarations which he should think proper, and, in full Assurance of his Justice, would intrust him with the Cognisance of their Rights.

THIS Answer not satisfying *Cæsar*, who was desirous that before all Things they should enter into the League, on their receiving of him his Word that they should be reinstated in the Possession of *Pisa* within a convenient Term, after many Debates

A. D. 1496. they had no other Reply from him than
what he gave them when he was just get-
ting on board of a Ship in the Mole of
Genoa, when he turned to them, and said,
They might know his Mind from the
Pope's Legate in that City. The Legate
referred them to *Lodovico*, who had attend-
ed the Emperor to *Tortona*, and was re-
turned to *Milan*, whither the Ambassa-
dors repaired. But after they had de-
manded an Audience, they received an
Express from *Florence*, where the Pro-
gress of their Embassy was already known,
with Orders to return, without soliciting
any other Answer. Wherefore when they
were admitted, at the Time appointed, into
Lodovico's Presence, instead of demanding
an Answer, they signified to him, that being
on their Return to *Florence* they had been
willing to lengthen the Journey, because
they thought it their Duty not to leave his
Dominions without paying him in Person
that Respect which was due to the Friend-
ship that subsisted between his Highness
and their Republic. The Duke, on a
Supposition that they were come to re-
ceive *Cesare*'s Answer, in order to make a
Shew,

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Shew, as he did on all Occasions, of his Eloquence and political Artifices, and to please himself with the Calamities of others, had summoned all the Ambassado^{Lodovico}rs of the Allies, and his whole Council ^{rentine} Ambassa^{dors}. to be present at this Meeting. But being amazed and confounded at this Compliment of the Ambassadors, and not able to dissemble his Displeasure, he demanded of them, ‘ What Answer they had received from *Cæsar?*’ They replied, ‘ That, according to the Laws of their Republic, they were not allowed to discourse on the Subject of their Embassy to any other Prince but to him to whom they were delegated.’ *Lodovico*, in great Agitation, said, ‘ If I should give you his Answer, which you know he has intrusted me with, would you not be willing to hear it?’ They replied, ‘ That to hear was not prohibited, nor could they hinder any body from speaking. ‘ Then, says the Duke, I am willing to tell it you ; but I cannot, unless you let me know what you said to him.’ They answered, ‘ That was not allowed them for the same Reasons they had before given ; and besides, it would be su-

A. D. perfluous, because *Cæsar* could not employ any one to give an Answer in his Name, without communicating to the same Person what had been demanded. *Lodovico* not knowing how to dissemble his Anger, either in Words or Gestures, dismissed the Ambassadors and all that were assembled, and became himself the Subject of those Sneers he intended to put on the *Florentine* Ministers.

IN the mean Time *Cæsar* sailed from the Port of *Genoa* with Six Gallies, which the *Venetians* had in the *Pisan* Sea, and with a great Number of *Genoese* Vessels well provided with Artillery, but not with Soldiers, having only on board One Thousand *German* Foot. He went on Shore at the Port of *Spetie*, and from thence marched by Land to *Pisa*, where he assembled Five Hundred Horse, and One Thousand *German* Foot, that had marched thither by Land. With these Troops, and those of the Duke of *Milan*, and part of the *Venetians*, he resolved to lay Siege to *Livorno*, with Design to attack it both by Sea and Land. The other Part of the *Venetian*

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netian Troops was ordered to post themselves at the Bridge of *Sacco*, to prevent the *Florentine* Army, which was not very strong, from molesting *Pisa*, or succouring *Livorno*. For this last Place the Republic was in no sort of Concern, since it was extremely well provided with Men and Artillery, and they daily expected Relief from *Provence*: For as the *French* Soldiers were at that Time in great Esteem in *Italy*, to give a greater Reputation to their Army, they had, with the King's Leave not long before, enlisted Mons^f. *d'Albigeois*, one of his Officers, with One Hundred Lances, and One Thousand *Swiss* and *Gascon* Foot; who were to be transported to *Livorno* on board a Fleet of Vessels they had hired, and loaded with Wheat, of which there was a great Scarcity in all the *Florentine* Dominions. This Resolution was taken by the *Florentines* with other Thoughts, and for other Purposes than to defend themselves against *Cæsar*; and tho' it met with many Difficulties in the Execution, for *Albigeois* with his Regiment, when they were brought to the Seaside refused to go on board, and no more

A. D. than Six Hundred Foot embarked, yet
^{1496.} such was the Favour of Fortune that a
greater or more seasonable Succour could
not be desired. For on the same Day
that a *Pisan* Commissary was sent forward
by *Cæsar* with a strong Detachment of
Horse and Foot to lay Bridges, and to le-
vel the Road for the Army that was to fol-
low, the Fleet from *Provence*, which con-
sisted of Five Ships, and some Galleons,
with a large Ship of *Normandy* †, bound
for *Gaeta* with a Supply of Men and Pro-
visions, appeared off *Livorno*, with so fa-
vourable a Wind, as to meet with no Op-
position from *Cæsar's* Squadron, which
was forced by bad Weather to extend it-
self off the *Meloria*, a Rock famous for
the final Overthrow and Destruction * of
the

+ *Vitellozzo* and *Carlo Orsini* were sent with the *Nor-
mandia*, entrusted with the French Money : This Ship was
of Twelve Hundred Tons Burthen, and the others about
Four Hundred. *Giovio* and *Bimbo*.

* This Defeat of the *Pisans* is supposed to be that in
1284, at a Place called *Veronica*, Three Miles off *Livorno*
or *Leghorn*; in which *Moroſini* the Podeſtate of *Pisa*, and
ſuch a Number of Noblemen were taken, that the
Tuscans used to ſay, that if any one wanted to ſee *Pisa*, he
muſt go to *Genoa*. *Giuffrida*, lib. 3.

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the *Pisans* by the *Genoese* in a naval Engagement that happened near it; so that the Fleet entered the Port without any Loss, except of one Galleon, laden with Corn, which was intercepted by the Enemy. This Relief coming so seasonably put great Spirits in the *Livornese*, and mightily confirmed the Minds of the *Florentines*, it appearing to them that the Arrival of Succours just in the Nick of Time, was a Sign that where human Assistance was wanting in their Favour, that Defect was supplied by the divine Aid, as *Savonarola* had often assured in his Preaching to the People at the very Time they were under the greatest Terrors and Apprehensions from the Enemy. But this did not pre-Siege of *Livorno*. vent the King of the *Romans* from proceeding with his Army to *Livorno*, whither he sent Five Hundred Men at Arms, One Thousand light Horse, and Four Thousand Foot by Land, and went himself on board the Gallies as far as the Mouth of the Lake that lies between *Pisa* and *Livorno*. He appointed Count *Gajazzo*, who had attended him by Orders of the Duke of *Milan*, to make an Attack

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on one Part of the Town, and posted himself at another, tho' he pitched his Camp with much Difficulty on the first Day, on account of the great Annoyance frem the Artillery of the Place. As his first Design was to make himself Master of the Port, he caused the Troops to approach, before Day, on the Side of the Fountain, and began to fire, with a Multitude of Cannon, on *Magnano*, which the Besieged had fortified, and had demolished, as soon as they saw the Siege pushed on towards that Part, the *Palazotto*, and the Tower by the Sea-Side, as defenceless, and like to occasion the Loss of the new Tower ; and that the Place might, at the same, Time be battered on the Side towards the Sea, *Maximilian* had caused his Fleet to approach the Port ; for the *French* Ships, after landing the Troops, and unloading Part of the Corn, haying finished the Business for which they had been freighted, could not be induced by any Intreaties to stay, but sailed away for *Provence*, and the *Normanda* continued her Course to *Gaeta*. The Attack of *Magnano*, which was made with an Intent, after it should be taken, to assault the

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the Town also from the Sea, had but little Effect, because it was fortified in such a Manner that the Cannon did it but little Damage, and the Garrison made frequent Sallies. But it was ordained by Destiny that the Hopes of the *Florentines*, which began with the Favour of the Winds, should be brought to Perfection merely by the Benefit of the Winds. For a violent Storm arose, which shattered the Fleet in such a Manner that the *Grimalda*, a *Genoese* Ship, which had carried the Person of *Cæsar*, after a long Struggle with the Winds, overset and sunk over against the new Tower, a Fort of *Livorno*, with all the Men and Artillery on Board, and the same Misfortune happened to two *Venetian* Gallies, at the Point towards *Sanjacopo*, and the other Ships were dispersed into various Places, and suffered so much Damage as to be rendered unserviceable for the present Undertaking; and by Means of this Accident the *Livornese* recovered the Galleon that had fallen into the Hands of the Enemy.

ON

THE HISTORY OF

ON this Disaster happening to the Fleet, *Cæsar* returned to *Pisa*, where, after much Consultation, all Hopes of taking *Livorno* being laid aside, he now resolved to raise the Siege, and undertake some other Exploit. *Cæsar* therefore went to *Vico Pisano*, and having ordered a Bridge to be laid over the *Arno*, between *Cascina* and *Vico*, and another over the *Cilecchio*, when it was expected that he would pass these Bridges, he set out on a sudden to return towards *Milan* by Land, having made no other Progress in *Tuscany*, than pillaging, with Four Hundred of his Horse, the obscure little Town of *Bolgheri*, in the Marshes of *Pisa*. He excused his sudden Departure by the Difficulties which continually increased upon him, the *Venetian* Proveditors not satisfying his frequent Demands of new Supplies of Money, nor consenting that the greatest Part of their Troops should march any more out of *Pisa*, from a Mistrust which they had conceived of him; nor had the *Venetians* paid him the full Quota of Seventy Thousand Ducats; whence he made heavy Complasnts

Complaints of their Usage, but highly commended the Conduct of the Duke of Milan. At *Pavia* whither he removed his Quarters, a new Council was held, and tho' he had publicly declared his Resolution of returning to *Germany*, he consented to stay in *Italy* during the Winter, with One Thousand Horse, and Two Thousand Foot, provided he had a monthly Allowance of Twenty-two Thousand *Rhenish* Florins. While he waited for an Answer from the *Venetians* to his Proposal, he went to *Lomellina*, at the Time he was expected at *Milan*, it being his Fate, as afterwards appeared more clearly in his future Progresses, never to enter that City. From *Lomellina*, changing his Mind, he turned to *Cusago*, Six Miles from *Milan*, from whence, on a sudden, without the Knowledge of the Duke and the Ambassadors, he removed to *Como*. Here receiving Intelligence, while he was at Dinner, that the Pope's Legate, to whom he had sent a Message to tell him that he should not follow him, was arrived, he rose from the Table, and went and embarked in so much Haste,

A. D.
1496.

A. D. ^{1496.} Haste, that the Legate had hardly Time
to speak a few Words to him at the Barge,
and received for Answer that he was under
a Necessity of going for *Germany*, but
that he should soon return. However,
after he had been rowed over the Lake to
Bell' Agio *, being informed that the *Ve-*
netians had agreed to what was under De-
bate at *Pavia*, he gave fresh Hopes of re-
turning to *Milan*. But in a Day or two
after, proceeding with his natural Insta-
bility, and leaving behind Part of his
Horse and Foot, he set out for *Germany*,
having, with very little Credit to the Im-
perial Name and Dignity, displayed his
Weakness in *Italy*, which had not for a
long Time seen an Emperor in Arms.

By the Departure of *Cæsar Lodovico Sforza*, in Despair of getting *Pisa* for himself, or wresting it out of the Hands of the *Venetians*, without some new Accident, re-
called

* *Bell' Agio* is a delicious Promontory on the Lake of *Como*; on the Top there was a famous Stone Castle, which in 1375 was demolished by *Gio. Galeazzo Visconti*, Duke of *Milan*, because it was a Receptacle for Thieves and Assassins. The Family of the *Sfondrati* have now a magnificent Palace on that Spot.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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called his Troops; comforting himself in some measure under his Mortification that the *Venetians* would remain alone involved in a War with the *Florentines*, from whence he flattered himself that the Weariness and exhausted Strength of one as well as the other of the contending Parties would in Time present him with some desired Opportunity. The *Florentines*, by the Departure of the Duke's Forces, remaining superior to the Enemy in the Territory of *Pisa*, recovered all the little Towns on the Hills. The *Venetians* therefore being obliged, in order to stop their Progress, to make new Provisions, reinforced their Troops in that Country, so as to make them amount in all to Four Hundred Men at Arms, Seven Hundred light Horse, and above Two Thousand Foot.

IN the mean time almost all the Reliques of the *French* War in the Kingdom of *Naples* dwindled away to nothing. For the City of *Taranto*, with its Forts, oppressed by Famine, surrendered to the *Venetians*, who had blockaded it with their Fleet. This City, after they had kept it in

A. D.
1496.

A. D. 1496. in their Hands many Days, and had now incurred a Suspicion that they intended to appropriate it to themselves, they at last restored to *Federigo* at the earnest Instances of the Pope and the King of *Spain*. On Intelligence arriving at *Gaeta* that the Ship *Normanda*, after an Engagement

The *Nor-* near *Porto Ercole* with some Ships of *mandacast* *Genoa* which she had met, was, in pursuing away. her Course, overtaken by a violent Storm, and cast away, the *French* in that City, to which the new King had laid Siege, tho' reported to have Provisions sufficient for some Months, judging that in the End their King would take no more Care to succour them than he had done to succour such Numbers of Nobility, and such a Multitude of Towns as held out for him, capitulated with *Federigo* by means of *Aubigni* (who, on account of some Difficulties arising about the Resignation of the Fortresses in *Calabria* had not as yet left *Naples*) to evacuate the Town and Citadel, and had Liberty to transport themselves by Sea into *Faance* in Safety with all their Effects.

By

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1496.

By this Capitulation the King of France found himself eased of all anxious Cares for the Kingdom of Naples, and, on the other hand, kindled into Indignation at the Sense of his Loss and Disgrace. For this Reason he resolved to make an Attack on Genoa, grounding his Hopes on the Party which Battistino Fregoso, formerly Doge, had in that City, and on the Dependents of the Cardinal of San Piero in Vincola in Savona, his native Place, and in those Parts of the Riviera. Besides this, he imagined that he had a fair Opportunity given him by the Disagreement at that Time of Gianluigi dal Fiesco and the Adorni, and from the universal Discontent of the Genoese with the Duke of Milan, because it was by his Procurement that in the Sale of Pietra Santa the Lucchesi had been preferred before them; and because having afterwards promised to make it return into their Hands, and for that End employed, in order to appease their Indignation against him, the Authority of the Venetians, he had for many Months been feeding them with nothing but vain Hopes.

A. D. Hopes. The Fear of this Resolution of
1496. the King constrained *Lodovico*, who was
Lodovico in a manner fallen off from the *Venetians*
sends *Troops to* *Genoa*. on account of the *Pisan* Affair, to renew
Genoa. his Engagements with them, and to send
 to *Genoa* those *German* Horse and Foot that
Cæsar had left in *Italy*, for whom, if this
 Necessity had not happened, no Provision
 would have been made.

WHILE these Things were in Agita-
 tion, the Pope imagining he had a fair
 Opportunity of seizing on the States of the
Orsini, since the Heads of that Family
 were detained at *Naples*, pronounced in
 Consistory *Virginio* and the others Rebels,
 for entering, contrary to his Commands,
 into the Service of the *French*. This done,
 in the Beginning of the Year 1497 he at-
 tacked their Towns, having given Or-
 ders that the *Colonnas* in several Places
 where they bordered on the *Orsini* should
 do the same*. This Undertaking was
 pretty much encouraged by Cardinal *Af-*
canio

* *Alexander* used to call the *Roman* Barons the Pope's
 Fetters. He laid hold of this Opportunity to humble the
Orsini, which at the same Time enabled him to enrich his
 Children. *Giovio.*

canio on account of his old Friendship with the *Colonnas*, and his Aversion to the *Orsini*, and had the Consent of the Duke of Milan; but was displeasing to the *Venetians*, who were desirous to conciliate the Affections of that Family. However, as they could no way justify themselves in hindering the Pope from prosecuting his Rights, and it was against their Interest to break with him at such a Juncture, they consented that the Duke of *Urbino*, in the common Pay, should march to join the Troops of the Church; of which the Duke of *Candia* was Captain General, and the Cardinal *da Luna*, of *Pavia*, a Cardinal dependent on *Ascanio*, Legate; and King *Federigo* sent to the Pope's Assistance *Fabritio Colonna*. This Army, after the surrender of many little Towns, laid Siege to *Trivignano*, which Town, after a stout Defence of some Days, surrendered at Discretion. But during the Siege *Bartolomeo Alviano* marched out of *Bracciano*, and routed, within Eight Miles of *Rome*, Four Hundred Horse who were escorting Artillery to the Ecclesiastic Camp: And another Day in an Excursion near the Cross

A. D.
1497.

A. D. of Montemari he narrowly missed of taking
^{1497.} the Cardinal of Valenza, who had gone
out of Rome on Hunting; but he saved
himself by flying into Trivignano. The
Army next proceeded to L'isola, and hav-
ing battered a Part of the Castle with the
Artillery the Place capitulated. And now
the whole War came at last to be confined
within the Precincts of Bracciano, in which
the Orsini had placed all their Hopes of
Defence. For the Place, which was
strong before, had been lately strengthened
with new Works, as also its Suburb, at
the Front of which they had erected a
Bastion; and within the Fortress was a
competent Garrison under the Command
of Alviano, who being as yet a young
Man, though of a fierce Disposition, and
of incredible Quickness, and expert in
military Exercises, gave those Hopes of
himself to which his Actions in future
Times were no ways inferior. Nor was
the Pope negligent in daily augmenting his
Army, which he had newly reinforced
with Eight Hundred German Foot of those
who had served in the Kingdom of Naples.

Very

Very sharp was the Contest on all Sides
for many Days together. The Besiegers
having erected Batteries in several Places
the Garrison was not wanting to provide ^{A. D.}
^{1497.} ^{Bracciano} ~~besieged,~~
against all Assaults, and to repair the
Breaches every where with the greatest
Diligence and Alacrity. They were, how-
ever, after many Days, constrained to
abandon the Suburb, which being taken,
the Ecclesiastics gave a fierce Assault to the
Town; but, though they had planted
their Colours on the Walls, they were
forced to retire with great Loss, and *Antonello Savelli* was wounded in the Action.
The Besieged behaved with the same Bra-
vety in another Assault, repulsing with
greater Loss the Enemy, of whom above
Two Hundred were killed or wounded,
with vast Reputation to *Alviano*, to whom
was principally ascribed the Glory of that
Défence, for within the Place he was ever
watchful and ready for all the necessary
Actions, and without by frequent Attacks
he kept the Enemy Night and Day, as it
were, under a perpetual Alarm. And,
what added further to his Commendation,
having ordered a Party of light Horse one

A. D. Day to make an Excursion from *Cervetri*,
1497. which was in the Hands of the *Orsini*;
Alviano's Stratagem up to the Enemy's Camp, he took the Opportunity of the Tumult to make a Sally, in which he put to Flight the Foot that guarded the Artillery, and brought off some small Pieces into *Bracciano*. The Besieged, however, suffering greatly by the continual Battery and Fatigues they endured both Day and Night, began to support themselves principally by the Hopes of Relief. For *Carlo Orsini*, and *Vitellozzo*, who was attached to the *Orsini* by the Tye of the *Guelf* Faction, having received Money of the King of *France* for re-establishing their Regiments dispersed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, were arrived in *Italy* on board some Vessels that came from *Provence* to *Livorno*, and were making Preparations to relieve *Bracciano*, which was in great Danger. *Carlo*, therefore, betook himself to *Soriano*, where he was employed in assembling the old Soldiers with the Friends and Partisans of the *Orsini*, while *Vitellozzo* did the same at *Cittá di Castello*, mustering his own Soldiers, and Foot of the Country; and as soon as he had formed

formed them into a Body, he marched A. D.
with Two Hundred Men at Arms, and ^{1497.}
Eighteen Hundred Foot of his own
Troops, and a Train of Artillery placed
on Carriages after the French Manner, and
joined Carlo at Soriano.

THE Ecclesiastic Generals judging it ^{The Siege}
dangerous, if the Enemy should proceed ^{of Brac-}
forwards, to be found in the Midst be-^{ciano}
tween them and the Garrison of *Bracciano*,
and unwilling to leave the whole Country
around them to be ravaged, as had already
happened to some Villages, raised the
Siege of *Bracciano*, and, having lodged the
heavy Artillery in *Anguillara*, marched di-
rectly against the Enemy, whom they met
between *Soriano* and *Baffano*, where a
fierce Battle was fought, which lasted se-
veral Hours. And tho' in the Beginning ^{The Ec-}
of the Action, *Frangiotto Orsini* was taken ^{cleesiastics}
by the *Colonnas*; yet at last the Ecclesiastics
were put to Flight with the Loss of their
Baggage and Artillery, and above Five
Hundred Men killed or taken, among
whom the Duke of *Urbino*, *Gianpiero da*
Gonzaga, Count *Nugolaro*, and many
other

A. D. other Persons of Distinction remained Pri-
1497. soners : But the Duke of *Candia*, who was slightly wounded in the Face, the Apostolical Legate, and *Fabritio Colonna* saved themselves by Flight in *Ronciglione*. The chief Glory of this Victory was ascribed to *Vitellozzo* ; for the Infantry of *Cittá di Castello*, which had been disciplined before, by him and his Brothers, after the Manner of the Ultramontanes, were this Day mightily assisted by his Industry ; for having provided them with Pikes, a Brace longer than what was in common Use, they had so great an Advantage, when he led them on to charge the Enemy's Foot, that deeply wounding them without being hurted themselves, on account of the Length of their Pikes, they easily put them to Flight, and with so much the greater Honour, because in the hostile Army were Eight Hundred *German* Foot, of which Nation the *Italian* Foot had been terribly afraid, ever since the Passage of King *Charles*.

AFTER this Victory, the Conquerors began to make Incursions all over the Country on this Side the *Tiber*, without any Controul; and some, passing the River under *Monte Rotondo*, scoured the only Road which had remained secure. In this dangerous Juncture the Pope made new Levies in Abundance, and called *Gonsalvo*, and *Prospero Colonna* out of the Kingdom of *Naples* to his Assistance. But a few Days after the *Venetian* Ambassadors with great Zeal interposing their good Offices in behalf of the *Orsini*, and the *Spanish* Ambassador, out of Fear lest from these Beginnings should arise greater Disorders in the Affairs of the League, a Peace was made with a very ready Inclination, as well of the Pope, who was by Nature extremely averse to be at Ex- pences, as of the *Orsini*, who destitute of Money, and abandoned by every Body, were sensible that they must be at last under a Necessity of yielding to the Power of ^{Peace be-} *Pope* and *the Orsini*.

The
Articles.

THE ARTICLES imported, if That the *Orsini* should be allowed to continue in the *French* Service, till the Time they had agreed was expired, in which it was expressly mentioned, they should not be bound to take up Arms against the Church. That all the Places taken from them in that War should be restored; for which they should pay Fifty Thousand Ducats to the Pope, Thirty Thousand as soon as *Federigo* should have released *Gian Giordano*, and *Pagolo Orsini*. (for *Virginio* had died a few Days before in *Castel dell' Uovo*, either of a Fever, or, as some believed, of Poison) and the other Twenty Thousand in Eight Months, and that *Anguillara*, and *Cervetri*, should be deposited in the Hands of the Cardinals *Ascanio* and *San Severino*, as a Security for the Payment: That all the Prisoners taken at the Battle of *Soriano* should be set at Liberty, except the Duke of *Urbino*, on whose Freedom, tho' the Ambassadors of the Allies laboured hard to obtain it, the Pope did not insist, because he knew that the *Orsini* had it not in their Power to provide the Money stipulated;

any

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any other Way than by that Duke's Ransom, which was not long after settled at Forty Thousand Ducats, with a Condition annexed, that he should not be set at Liberty till *Pagolo Vitelli*, who, at the Surrender of *Atella*, became a Prisoner to the Marquis of *Mantoua*, should be released without a Ransom. As soon as the Pope had discharged himself of the War of the *Orsini*, not much to his Honour, and given Money to the Troops conducted by *Gonsalvo*, and joined them with his own, he sent that General on an Enterprise against *Ostia*, which was still kept in Possession under the Name of the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*; but a Battery was scarce raised before the Governor surrendered to *Gonsalvo* at Discretion. After the Reduction of *Ostia*, *Gonsalvo* entered *Rome* in a Kind of Triumph, with One Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred light Horse, and Fifteen Hundred Foot, all Spaniards, and with the Governor led before him as a Prisoner, but a little after freed by him. He was conducted to the Pope sitting in Consistory, who received

Enters
Rome in
Triumph.

A. D. 1497. received him with the greatest Honours, and presented him with the Rose, which is usually bestowed every Year, by the Pontiff, as a Token of Esteem and Honour. After this he returned to join King *Federigo*, who had attacked the State of the Prefect of *Rome*, and possessed himself of all the Towns which the King of *France*, in his Acquisition of the Kingdom, had taken from the Marquis of *Pescara*, and bestowed on the Prefect. He had also taken *Sora* and *Arci*, but not the Castles, and had laid Siege to Fort *Gugliena*, having obtained, by Treaty, the State of Count *Uliveto*; before he sold the Dutchy of *Sora* to the Prefect.

In the Midst, however, of all this Prosperity *Federigo* was not without Anxieties and Troubles, that were occasioned him as well by his Friends (for *Gonsalvo* kept part of *Calabria* in the Name of the Sovereigns of *Spain*) as from his reconciled Enemies. For the Prince of *Bisignano* one Evening coming out of *Castel dell' Uovo*, being dangerously wounded by a certain Greek, the Prince of *Salerno* was under such

such terrible Apprehensions that this was done by the King's Orders, in Revenge of former Injuries, that, without dissembling the Cause of his Suspicion, he immediately quitted Naples, and went to Salerno. And tho' the King, to justify himself, ordered the Greek, that was in Prison, to be put into his Hands, in order to convince him that this Fact was perpetrated by the Fellow, to revenge an Injury the Prince of Bisignano had some Years before done him in the Person of his Wife; yet, as it is not an easy Matter, after long and deep Enmities, to establish a sincere Reconciliation, which is commonly prevented either by Suspicion, or Desire of Revenge, so the Prince could never bring himself, after this, to trust Federigo. This giving Hopes to the French, who were still in Possession of Monte Sant' Angelo, and some other strong Places, of raising some new Commotions, was the Cause of their persevering with the greater Constancy in defending themselves.

A. D.
1497.

A. D.
1497.

THE HISTORY OF

GREATER Dangers were at this Time apprehended in Lombardy from the Motions of the French, who were, for the present, secure from the Menaces of the Spaniards. For after there had passed between them some slight Attacks, and a Show of War, rather than any remarkable Action, except that the French, in a very short Time, took and burnt the Town of Sausses, a Treaty of Peace was set on Foot between those Kings; and to facilitate the Negotiation a Suspension of Arms was agreed on for two Months. Charles, on that Occasion, found himself enabled to attend with more Readiness to the Affairs of Genoa and Savona; and having already sent to Asti One Thousand Lances, and Three Thousand Swiss, with the same Number of Gascons; he gave Orders to Trivulzi, his Lieutenant in Italy, to assist Battistino and Vincola, designing, besides these Forces, to send back the Duke of Orléans with a great Army, in order to undertake the Conquest of the Dutchy of Milan in his own Name. And, to facilitate the Enterprise on Genoa, he sent Ottaviano

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taviano Fregoso to the Florentines, requiring them to attack at the same time the Lunigiana and the Eastern Riviera, and ordered Pagolo Battista Fregoso with Six Gallies to annoy the Western. This Movement was a great Terror to the Duke of Milan, who was not sufficiently prepared of himself, nor had as yet received the promised Succours of the Venetians; so that, if it had been continued by proper Means, it would have produced important Effects, and more easily in the Dutchy of Milan than at Genoa. For in this City Gianluigi dal Fiesco and the Adorni, by the Mediation of Lodovico, being reconciled, had enlisted a good Number of Foot, and had, at the Expence of the Venetians and Lodovico, fitted out a Fleet, which was joined by Six Gallies sent by Federigo; for the Pope, retaining the Name of a Confederate more in Counsels and Shews than in Works, was unwilling in those Dangers to be at any Charge either for Land or Sea-Service. In the Progress of this Expedition Battislino attended by Trivulzio marched to Novi, a Town of which Battislino had been deprived by the Duke

A. D. ^{1497.} Duke of *Milan*, thô' the Castle still held out for him. At their Approach Count *Gajazzo*, who was posted in the Town with Sixty Men at Arms, Two Hundred light Horse, and Five Hundred Foot, thinking it not tenable retired to *Serravalle*. By the Acquisition of *Novi* the Exiles were not a little increased in Reputation, for, besides its being a Place capacious of a numerous Garrison, it obstructed the Passage from *Milan* to *Gênoâ*; and by its Situation was very commodious for annoying the circumjacent Places. After this *Battifino* took Possession of some other Towns in the Neighbourhood of *Novi*, and at the same time the Cardinal with Two Hundred Lances and Three Thousand Foot took *Ventimiglia*, and approached *Savona*; but the People within making no Motion, on Advice that *Giovanni Adorno* was approaching with a great Body of Foot, he retired to *Altare*, a Town of the Marquis of *Monferrato*, Eight Miles distant from *Savona*.

THE Beginning of the Enterprise, conducted by *Trivulzio*, was of greater Moment.

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1497.

ment. That General, desirous of an Opportunity for kindling the War in the Dutchy of *Milan*, though by the King's Orders he was directed to attend first the Affairs of *Genoa* and *Savonia*, seized on *Bosco*, a Town of Importance in the Territory of *Alessandria*, under a Pretence that, for the Security of the Forces that were marched into the *Riviera*, it was necessary to prevent the Passage of the Troops of the Duke of *Milan* from *Alessandria* into the Territory of *Genoa*. However, not manifestly to contravene the King's Commands, he advanced no further, and so lost a very favourable Opportunity: For the whole Country around was in a very great Commotion on the Seizure of *Bosco*, some out of Fear, and others from a Desire of Change; the Duke had on that Side no more than Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Six Thousand Foot; and *Galeazzo*, who was in *Alessandria*, began to despair of defending it without a greater Force; and *Lodovico* himself, no less fearful at this Event than he was by Nature under all other Misfortunes, requested of the Duke of *Ferrara*

A. D. *rara* to interpose his Mediation for effecting some Agreement between him and the King of France. But *Trivulzio*, by his stopping between *Bosco* and *Novi*, gave Time to *Lodovico* to provide himself, and to the *Venetians*, who, very readily concurring to his Defence, had before sent Fifteen Hundred Foot to *Genoa*, to send a great Number of Men at Arms and light Horse to *Alessandria*, and at last to order Count *Pitigliano*, their Commander in chief, the Marquis of *Mantua* having left their Service, to march with the greatest Part of their Forces to the Assistance of that State.

Thus the Expedition against *Genoa*, commenced with such great Hopes, proving abortive, *Battistino*, quite disappointed of his Purpose, because the City was too well provided to fear any Commotion, returned to join *Trivulzio*, alledging that his Designs failed of Execution because the *Florentines* had not attacked the Eastern *Riviera*. They had, indeed, judged it by no means a prudent Measure to intangle themselves in a War before the Affairs of

the

the French and their Arms appeared more prosperous and more powerful. *Vincola* ^{A. D.} 1497. also joined *Trivulzio*, having done nothing besides taking some Towns belonging to the Marquis of *Finale*, because he had interested himself in the Defence of *Savona*.

WHEN the French had got all their Forces united, they made some Excursions towards *Castellaccio*, a Place near *Bosco*, lately fortified by the Duke's Generals. But the Army of the Allies which assembled at *Alessandria* daily increasing, and, on the contrary, the French beginning to want Money and Provisions, and the Officers shewing an Impatience of submitting to the Orders of *Trivulzio*, he was obliged, after leaving Garrisons in *Novi* and *Bosco*, to retire with the Army under the Walls of *Asti*. It was believed that this Enterprise was injured and obstructed, as we see it frequently happen, by the Division of the Troops into several Bodies, and that if they had been all at first directed to march against *Genoa* they would, perhaps, have met with better Success, because, besides the Inclination

A. D. of the Factions, and the Resentment occasioned by the Affair of *Pietra Santa*,
1497. Part of the German Horse and Foot sent to *Genoa* by the Duke of *Milan*, after staying there a few Days, broke up on a sudden, and set out on their Return to *Germany*. It is possible also that the same Persons who the Year before hindered the Passage of the King into *Italy*, and the Relief of the Kingdom of *Naples*, might use the same Arts in obstructing the present Enterprise by the Difficulty of the Preparations; and the more probable, as it was reported that the Duke of *Milan*, who had laid heavy Taxes on his Subjects, had been very liberal to the Duke of *Bourbon*, and to some others who had great Interest with the King, the Cardinal of *St. Malo* himself coming in for his Share in the Disgrace as well as in the Money. But be that as it will, it is certain that the Duke of *Orleans*, who was appointed and mightily sollicited by the King to pass to *Asti*, made all the Preparations necessary for such an Expedition, but delayed to set out, either because he distrusted the Continuance of the Provisions that were making,

making, or, as many interpreted it, because he was loth to leave the Kingdom, the King being continually indisposed, and in case of his Death without Male Issue the Crown descending to him and his Heirs.

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BUT the King, being disappointed in his Hopes of effecting a Change in *Genoa* and *Savona*, resumed the Negotiations which were begun with the Sovereigns of *Spain*, and were retarded by only one Difficulty, which was, that the King of *France*, desirous to remain in Readiness for the Undertaking on this Side the Mountains, refused to have the Affairs of *Italy* comprehended in the Truce of which they were treating, and the Sovereigns of *Spain*, pretending that they made no Difficulty of consenting to his Will in any other Respect than what concerned their Honour, insisted on comprehending them, because, it being the common Intention of both Parties to make a Truce in order to facilitate the treating of a Peace, they might with the greater Decency break off from the Confederacy which they had

M 2 contracted

A. D. contracted with the *Italians*. For which
^{1497.} Purpose, after several Embassies from one Party to another, the *Spanish* Artfulness at last prevailing, as is almost constantly the Case, a Truce was concluded between them for themselves, and for their Subjects and Dependents, and for those whom either of them should nominate. The Truce was to begin between the Principals on the Fifth Day of *March*, but for the Nominated not till Fifty Days after, and was to continue in Force for the whole Month of *October* next. Each Party nominated those *Italian* Potentates and States that were their Allies and Adherents, and the Sovereigns of *Spain*, among the rest, nominated King *Federigo* and the *Pisans*. It was agreed also to hold a Congress at *Montpelier* for treating of a Peace, whither the other Allies might send Ambassadors. In this Negotiation also the Sovereigns of *Spain* gave Hopes of finding some just Reason for joining with the King of *France* against the *Italians*, proposing from that Time to divide the Kingdom of *Naples* between themselves. This Truce, though made without the Participation

A Truce
with Spain

Participation of the *Italian Confederates*, *A. D.*
1497.
was however acceptable to all, and especially to the Duke of *Milan*, who was very desirous that the War should be removed from his own Dominions.

BUT as there was Liberty for acting offensively in *Italy* till the 25th of *April*, *Trivulzi* and *Battistino*, in Conjunction with *Serenon*, returned into the Western *Riviera* with Five Thousand Men, and attacked the Town of *Albenga*, and had almost carried the Place at the first Assault, when entering in a disorderly Manner they were beaten out again by an inconsiderable Number of the Enemy. They next entered the Marquisate of *Finale*, to give Occasion for the *Italian Army* to come to its Relief, and in that Case to afford an Opportunity for bringing on an Engagement. This not succeeding, they did nothing farther of Moment, especially as the Disagreement amongst the general Officers increased, and the Payments grew every Day slacker, on account of the Truce. At this Time the Confederates had recovered all the Places they had lost, except

A. D. Novi, which was attacked by Count Gazzo,
^{1497.} and tho' he was repulsed, the Place
at last capitulated, so that nothing remained
to the French, of all the Places they had
taken, but a few small Towns in the Mar-
quisate of Finale. During these Distur-
bances the Duke of Savoy, who was court-
ed by all Parties with great Offers, and the
Marquis of Monferrato, the Tutelage of
whom had; by the King of the Romans,
been settled on Costantino di Macedonia,
would neither declare for the King of
France nor the Allies.

No Transaction of Moment happened
this Year between the Florentines and
Pisans, tho' the War was still prosecuted,
except that Four Hundred light Horse, and
Fifteen Hundred Foot of the Pisans, under
the Command of Gianpagolo Manfrone,
marched to retake a Redoubt which
they had erected at the Lake, and lost
when Cæsar broke up from Livorno, and
Count Rinuccio, on Advice of their Moti-
on, put himself on his March with a good
Body of Horse, for the Relief of the Place,
by the Way of Livorno; and the Pisans
not

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not imagining they could be attacked but by the Way of *Pontadera*, he came upon them as they were storming the Redoubt, and easily put them to Flight, taking a great Number Prisoners. But the Truce occasioned a Suspension of Arms between the Parties, tho' accepted with an ill Will by the *Florentines*, because they judged the giving of Time to the *Pisans* to fetch Breath, unfavourable to their Affairs ; and because their Jealousy of *Piero de' Medici*, who was continually plotting, and their Apprehensions from the Troops of the *Venetians* in *Pisa*, obliged them to continue the same Expences notwithstanding the Truce.

THUS Arms having been laid aside; or just on the Point of being so, every where, the Duke of *Milan*, tho' in his late Dangers he had shewn himself perfectly satisfied with the *Venetian* Senate for their ready Assistance, publicly extolling, in lofty Speeches, the *Venetian* Power and Virtue, and praising *Giovan. Galeazzo*, the first Duke of *Milan*, for his prudent Fore-

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sight in entrusting the Execution of his Will to the Faith of that Senate *, yet he could not bear that the Game of *Pisa*, started and pursued by him with such great Fatigue, and so many Arts, should remain in their Hands, which, as it manifestly appeared, was like to be the Event. Wherefore, to procure by Policy what he could not obtain by Force, he contrived that the Pope and the Ambassadors of the Sovereigns of *Spain*, who were all jealous of the exorbitant Greatness of the *Venetians*, should propose it as their Opinion, that, in order to deprive the *French* of all Footing in *Italy*, and to restore Peace and Harmony among all its Members, it would be necessary to induce the *Florentines* to enter into the common League, by reinstating them in the Possession of *Pisa*, since no other Means could effectually induce them to it. For as long as they remained in a State of Separation from the other Powers, they never

* He was so well satisfied with their Behaviour, that when the *Venetian* Proveditors came to *Milan*, he ordered it to be proclaimed that, under great Penalties, the same Respect should be paid them, as was to his own Person. *Bembo.*

never ceased stimulating the King of France A. D.
1497. to pass into Italy, and if he should pass, they might with their Money and Troops, especially as they were situated in the Heart of Italy, produce Effects of no small Importance.

THIS Proposal was contradicted by the Venetian Ambassador as highly prejudicial to the common Safety, representing that such was the Propensity of the Florentines to the King of France, that even the conferring this Obligation upon them would not warrant their putting any Confidence in them, unless they gave sufficient Security for the Performance of what they might promise ; and in an Affair of such great Moment, no Security was sufficient but the depositing *Livorno* into the Hands of the Confederates. This was artfully suggested by him, that, as he knew they would never consent to deposit a Place of so much Importance to their State, he might have the more Room to oppose the Motion. And the Affair succeeding afterwards as he had imagined, he took Occasion to inveigh against the Proposal with so much

Vehem.

A. D. Vehemence, that the Pontiff and the Ambassador of the Duke of *Milan*, not thinking it safe to contradict him, for fear of detaching the *Venetians* from their Alliance, the Debate was broken off. The Pope then and the *Venetians* entered on a new Scheme for separating the *Florentines* from their Friendship with the *French* by violent Means, the unhappy State of their City, in which were no small Divisions among the Citizens, occasioned by the Form of Government, giving Encouragement to any Power that should think fit to molest them.

FOR in the first Institution of the popular Authority in *Florence* there had not been introduced a Mixture of those Temperaments which, together with securing by due Methods the common Liberty, might prevent the Republic from being thrown into Confusion by the Ignorance and Licentiousness of the Multitude. For this Reason the Citizens of better Rank meeting with less Respect than their Condition seemed to require, and the People on the other hand jealous of their Ambition,

A Plot against the *Florentines*.

tion, Multitudes also of mean Capacities frequently assisting at important Debates, and the supreme Magistracy, to whom was referred the Decision of the most difficult Affairs, being changed every two Months, much Confusion was occasioned in the Government of the Republic*. To this must be added the great Authority of *Savonarola*, whose Auditors were bound together by a Sort of tacit Intelligence, and there being among them many Citizens of Distinction, and his Followers being also more numerous than those of the contrary Opinion, they appeared to have much the greater Share in the Distribution of Places in the Magistracy and of public Honours, by which Means the City becoming manifestly divided, one Party still clashed with the other in the public Councils, as it happens in divided Cities, when Men care not how much they obstruct the common

* We read in some Greek Commentaries, that two powerful Ladies were perpetually disturbing the public Tranquillity with their Contentions for Superiority; that their Names were *Democratia* and *Aristocratia*; by the first was meant a Popular, by the second a Government of Optimates, or Nobles. No Wonder then that the *Florentines* should ever be at Variance, as they had introduced both these Forms into their Republic.

A. D. common Good for the Sake of lowering
the Reputation of the adverse Party.
1497. Those Disorders were the more dangerous
because, besides the long Vexations, and
heavy Expences borne by that City, there
was that Year a very great Dearth, whence
it might be presumed that the half-starved
Populace were desirous of a Change. This
evil Disposition gave Hopes to *Piero de' Medici*, who with these Opportunities was
incited by some Citizens, of easily obtaining
his Desire. Consulting therefore privately
with his old Friend Cardinal *San Severino*,
and with *Alviano*, and secretly stimulated
by the *Venetians*, who judged that the
Affairs of *Pisa* might be established by the
Distresses of the *Florentines*, he resolved to
enter clandestinely into *Florence*, especially
since he was advised that *Bernardo del Nero*, a Man of Gravity and of mighty Au-
thority, and who had long been a Friend of
his Father and of himself, had been
created Gonfaloniere of Justice, who was
the Head of the supreme Magistracy, and
that there had been elected to the same
Magistracy some others whom, on account
of antient Dependence, he imagined well
affected

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affected to his Greatness. The Pope gave his Consent to this Design, being determined to separate the *Florentines* from the King of *France* by rough Treatment, since he had been frustrated in his Endeavours to effect it by kind Usage. Nor was the Undertaking opposed by the Duke of *Milan*, who was of Opinion that there was no solid Foundation to be laid for a good Understanding with *Florence*, on account of the Disorders of the Government; tho', on the other Hand, he could not be pleased with the Restoration of *Piero*, as well on account of the Injuries he had done him, as because he suspected that he would depend too much on the Authority of the *Venetians*.

PIERO then collecting together what Money he had of his own, and what he could borrow from his Friends, or upon Credit, and assisted, as is supposed, underhand with a small Sum by the *Venetians*, went to *Siena*, and was followed by *Alviano* with some Horse and Foot, who moved only by Night, and out of the main Road, that his March might be quite a Secret

A. D. 1497. cret to the *Florentines*. At Siena, by the Favour of *Gianjacopo* and *Pandolfo Petrucci*, principal Citizens of that State, and Friends of his Father and of himself, he was secretly supplied with some more Men, so that he set out with Six Hundred Horse, and Four Hundred Foot, choice Troops, Two Days after the Commencement of the Truce, in which the *Senese* were not comprehended, towards *Florence*, in Hopes that arriving, in a manner, suddenly, by Daybreak, he might easily, either by Means of the Disorder and Confusion, or by a Tumult which he expected to rise in his Favour, to gain an Entrance into the City. And his Design would not perhaps have proved abortive, had not Fortune supplied the Negligence of his Adversaries: For being advanced in the Beginning of the Night to *Tavernelle*, a Hamlet in the High Road, with an Intent to march the best Part of the Night, there fell a very heavy Shower of Rain, which gave him so much Hindrance, that he could not present himself before *Florence* till several Hours after Sunrise. This Delay gave Time to those who were, by Profession,

his

A. D.
1497.

his particular Enemies (for the Populace and almost all the rest of the Citizens stood quietly expecting the Issue) to take up Arms with their Friends and Partisans, and to give Orders for the suspected Citizens to be summoned by the Magistrates, and confined in the public Palace, and to fortify the Gate that leads to *Siena*, whither also, at their Intreaty, repaired *Pagolo Vitelli*, who in his Return from *Mantoua* had by Chance the Evening before taken up his Lodging in *Florence*. Hence no Stir being made in the City, *Piero* finding himself unable to force the Gate, to which he had approached within Bowshot, and, after a Stay of Four Hours, apprehending himself in Danger of being surprised by the *Florentine* Men at Arms, whom he imagined, as the Truth was, to be recalled from the *Pisan*, returned to *Siena*: Here *Alviano* parted from him, and being afterwards introduced by the *Guelfs* into *Todi*, he plundered almost all the Houses of the *Ghibellines*, and massacred three and fifty of the principal Persons of that Faction. His Example was followed by *Antonello Savelli*, at his Entrance into *Terni*,

A. D. ^{1497.} *Terni*, and by the *Gateschi*, who, by the Favour of the *Colonnas*, got Admission into *Viterbo*, in which Place, and in the circumjacent Territories they retaliated the same Measure upon the *Guelfs*. The Pope took no Notice of these Barbarities committed in his Dominions, abhorring to meddle in any thing that created him an Expence ; besides, he was by Nature void of all Feeling for other People's Calamities, nor was he ever concerned at what might reflect on his Honour, if it did not interfere with his Interest or Pleasures. But he was severely punished with domestic Misfortunes, and beheld in his Family such tragical Examples of Lust and Cruelty, as are not to be parallelled in the most savage Regions. For having from the very Beginning of his Pontificate bent all his Thoughts on augmenting the temporal Greatness of the Duke of *Candia*, his eldest Son, the Cardinal of *Valenza*, whose Spirit, being totally averse from the sacerdotal Profession, aspired to the Exercise of Arms, not enduring that his Brother should fill the Place for which he thought himself so well qualified, and besides

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besides impatient at his having a greater Share in the Affections of a Lady with whom they were both in Love, incited by Lust and Ambition, powerful Incentives to the Commission of any shocking Piece of Villainy, caused him one Night, as he was riding through *Rome* unattended, to be assassinated, and then to be secretly thrown into the *Tiber* *. His Death beyond measure afflicted the Pope, who was as fond as ever was a Father of his Children, and not accustomed to feel the Strokes of Fortune; it being observable that, from his Childhood to this Present, he had met with the happiest Success in all his Affairs. And he was so extremely concerned that in a Consistory, after he had, with the greatest Compunction of Mind, and with Tears, heavily deplored his Misery, and condemned his own Actions and Manner of Life to that Day, he protested, with great Seriousness, that he would regulate his future Conduct by other Maxims, and institute a new

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* Giovio in his Life of *Gonfalvo Ferrando* writes, that *Cæsar Borgia*, after he had supped one Night with his Brother, procured an Assassin to cut his Throat, and then had him thrown into the *Tiber* at the Pillar by *Campo Martio*, from whence he was taken out two Days after by some Fishermen.

A. D. Way of Living, and appointed some of
^{1497.} the Cardinals to assist him in reforming the
Customs and Ordets of the Court. But
after he had spent some Days in this laudable Work, on beginning to make some
Discovery of the Author of his Son's Death, which was suspected to have been
procured either by Cardinal *Ascanio* or by
the *Orsini*, he first laid aside his good Intentions,
then dried up his Tears, and returned with more Licentiousness than
ever to those Projects and Practices in
which he had hitherto spent the whole
Course of his Life.

Piero's Plot dis- covered. AT this Time arose new Disturbances in *Florence* from the Movement that had been made by *Piero de' Medici*; for soon after his Departure came to Light the Correspondence he held in the Place, on which Occasion many noble Citizens were imprisoned, and others fled. After lawful Conviction and full Proof of the Order and Management of the Conspiracy, Sentence of Death was pronounced not only upon *Nicolo Ridolfi*, *Lorenzo Tornabuoni*, *Giamozzo Pucci*, and *Giovanni Cambi* for inviting

THE WARS IN ITALY. 179

inviting *Piero* to come to *Florence*, and *A. D.*
Lorenzo for furnishing him with *Money* ^{1497:}
for that Purpose, but also on *Bernardo del Nero*, who was only charged with being
conscious to the Plot and not revealing it.
But this Offence, which by itself is capi-
tal according to the *Florentine Statutes*, and
the Interpretation which most Lawyers
give to the common Law, was rendered
more heinous in him by his being Gon-
faloniere when *Piero* came to *Florence*,
since he was the more obliged in that high
Station to discharge the Duty of a public
Person than of one in a private Capacity. But
the Relations of the condemned Person
having appealed from the Sentence to the
grand Council of the People, by Virtue of
a Law that was made when the popular
Government was established, those who
had been the Authors of the Condemna-
tion consulting together, and apprehensive
that a Compassion on the Age and No-
bility, and the Number of Relations of
the Criminal might prevail on the Af-
fections of the People to mitigate the Se-
verity of the Judgment, obtained that it
should be referred to a Consultation of a
lesser

A. D. lesser Number of Citizens whether it ought
1497. to be permitted to prosecute the Appeal or
to prohibit it; where the Number and
Authority of those prevailing who said
that it was a dangerous Thing, and apt
to excite Sedition, and that the Laws
themselves allowed that to avoid Tumults
the Laws might, in the like Cases, be dis-
pensed with, several Members of the su-
preme Magistracy were, by pressing Im-
portunities, and almost by Force and Me-
naces, constrained to consent that, not-
withstanding the Interposition of the Ap-
peal, Execution should be done the same
Night. The most zealous Sticklers in this
Affair were the Favourers of *Savonarola*,
who was reproached for not dissuading the
People, and especially his Followers, from
the Violation of a Law which but a few
Years before had been proposed by him-
self as highly salutary, and in a manner
necessary for the Preservation of Liberty.

Federigo
is invested
and
crowned.

IN this same Year *Federigo* King of Na-
ples obtained the Investiture of the King-
dom from the Pope, and was crowned
with great Solemnity. After this he re-
covered

covered by Composition *Monte di Sant' Agnolo*, which had been valiantly defended by Don Julian of Lorrain, left Governor by the King of France, and also *Civita* and other Towns in the Possession of *Carlo di Sanguine*; and having, as soon as the Truce was expired, driven quite out of the Kingdom the Prefect of *Rome*, he hasted to do the same by the Prince of *Salerno*, who at last being besieged in the Castle of *Diano*, and forsaken by every body, obtained Leave to depart in Safety with his Effects, leaving that Part of his State which he had not yet lost in the Hands of the Prince of *Eisignano*, on Condition that he should give it up to *Federigo* as soon as he should have Advice of his safe Arrival at *Senigaglia*.

AT the End of this Year, the Congress (which had been transferred from *Montpellier* to *Narbonne*) having before been interrupted by the immoderate Demands of the Sovereigns of *Spain*, the Negotiations were renewed between those Kings, the same Difficulties still recurring. For the King of *France* was determined to consent

A. D. to no Agreement in which *Italy* should be
1497. comprehended, and the Sovereigns of *Spain* thought it hard to leave him at free Liberty to reduce that Country under his Subjection, and yet were desirous to have no War with him on the other Side the Mountains, a War very troublesome to them, and in which they could expect no manner of Advantage. At length a Truce was concluded between them, which was to last till retracted, and Two Months longer. In this Truce were comprehended none of the *Italian* Potentates, to whom the Sovereigns of *Spain* notifying it alledged, that they had as much Right to make it without the Privity of the Confederates, as the Duke of *Milan* had to agree to the Treaty at *Vercelli* without their Knowledge; and that having, when the League was made, opened a War in *France*, and carried it on for many Months without receiving the promised Subsidies of Money from the Confederates, tho' they had just Cause to have no more Concerns with those who had disappointed them, they had yet several Times signified to them that if they pleased to pay them

the

the Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats, ^{A. D.}
which they owed them, for the War they ^{1497.}
had made, they would be content to accept
them in Account for future Operations,
having resolved to enter *France* with a
very powerful Army. But the Confederates
having given no Satisfaction on these
Demands, nor to their Faith, nor to the
common Benefit, and their Majesties per-
ceiving that the League made for the Li-
berty of *Italy* served as a Pretence for en-
croaching on it, and oppressing it,
since the *Venetians*; not contented with
getting into their Hands so many of
the Ports of the Kingdom of *Naples*, had,
without any Right, possessed themselves of
Pisa; it seemed to them just and reasonable,
since others had confounded the common
Cause, to provide for their own by a Truce,
tho' made in such a Manner that it might
be called rather an Admonition than a
Desire to separate from the League, for it
was always in their Power to dissolve it by
Retraction, which they would do whenever
they should observe the *Italian Potentates*
more sincerely disposed, and more plen-

N 4. tifully

A. D. 1497: tifully provided for promoting the common Benefit.

THE Spanish Monarchs had no entire Relish of the Sweets of this Peace, which were allayed by the Death of John Prince of Spain, only Son to them both*. About the same Time died also Filippo Duke of Savoy, leaving an only Son a Child. This Duke, after long Suspense, seemed at last inclined to take Part with the Confederates, who had promised to allow him a yearly Subsidy of Twenty Thousand Ducats. His Faith, however, was suspected, and he stood in so dubious a Light with them all, that if the King of France should make any extraordinary Efforts, they could not promise themselves much from his Assistance.

AT the End of this Year also the Duke of Ferrara restored the Castelletto of Genoa, deposited in his Hands two Years before, to Lodovico, his Son-in-Law. But before this he applied to the King of France,

to

* The Prince of Spain was married to Margaret, Maximilian Caesar's Daughter.

A. D.
1497.

to demand that, according to the Articles of *Vercelli*, he might be reimbursed of one Half of the Charges he had been at in keeping the Garrison. *Charles* did not refuse Payment, provided the Duke would deposit the Castelletto in his Hands; which, he said, he ought to do, because *Lodovico* had violated that Treaty. The Duke replying, that this did not appear, and that to constitute *Lodovico* guilty of Contumacy, a Summons was first necessary, the King offered to deposit the Money, in order that, before it was paid, it should be proved that he was bound to resign it to him. But *Ercole* was more influenced by the Instances of the *Venetians* and of his Son-in-Law to the contrary; being moved, not only by the Intreaties and Wiles of *Lodovico*, who had a few Days before nominated Cardinal *Ippolito*, his Son, to the Arch-bishoprick of *Milan*, but much more by the Danger of provoking the Enmity of such powerful Neighbours, at a Time when the Hopes of a *French* Invasion lessened every Day. He therefore recalled his Son *Don Ferrando* from the *French* Court, and then restored the Castelletto

to

A. D.
1497.

to *Lodovico*, who, at the same time, paid him all his Disbursements in maintaining the Garrison, including that Share which was to have been paid by the King. The *Venetians*, willing to make the Duke a Return for so signal a Service, took his Son *Ferrando* into their Pay, with One Hundred Men at Arms. Though the Restoration of the Castelletto, in this unjustifiable Manner, greatly concerned the King's Reputation in *Italy*, yet he shewed no proper Resentment: On the contrary, when *Ercole* sent an Ambassador to make Excuses, alledging that his Dominions lying contiguous to the *Venetians* and to the Duke of *Milan*, who had sent him a threatening Message amounting to little less than a Declaration of War, he had been forced to obey Necessity, the King received and heard him as coolly as if he had been talking of some indifferent Affair, as might be expected from one who, besides his Proceeding as it were by Chance in all his Actions, continued in his usual Straits and Difficulties. His Desire to return into *Italy* was as ardent as ever; and he never had a fairer Opportunity, since he had

A. D.

1497.

had made a Truce with *Spain*, the *Swiss* had newly confirmed their Alliance with *France*, and there were many Causes for Misunderstanding amongst the Allies in *Italy*: And yet the Artifices of the Courtiers rendered useless most of these Advantages; some amusing him with Pleasures, others encouraging him indeed to this Undertaking, but requiring such powerful Preparations by Sea and Land, and such Sums of Money, as made it impracticable for a long Space of Time; others laying Hold of every Difficulty and Opportunity, and the Cardinal of *St. Malo* not failing in his usual Tedium in getting ready the Money. Under such Management the *Italian* Expedition not only became more doubtful as to the Time it should be undertaken, but many Things which were almost brought to Perfection were dropped: For the *Florentines*, for Instance, who had earnestly sollicited his Majesty's Return, had agreed, as soon as the War was begun, to make a Diversion with their Forces, and for that End had concerted with *Aubigni*, that he should come by Sea into *Tuscany* with One Hundred and Fifty French Lances,

A. D. Fifty of which were to be maintained at
the Expence of the Republic, and to take
upon him the Command of their Army.
And the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who had
been dishonourably discharged from his
Command in the *Venetian Service*, after
his glorious Campaign of *Naples*, on a Sus-
picion of his Design of entering into the
French Pay, was now treating in Earnest
for that Purpose: And the Duke of *Savoy*
was confirmed in his Adherence: Besides
these *Bentivoglio* promised on the Arrival
of the *French* to be at the King's Devotion;
and the Pope himself, after much Hesita-
tion and Demurring whether he should
join him, of which he was continually
treating, had determined at least not to
oppose him. But the King's Slowness
and Negligence put a Damp on the
Spirits of every one: No News was heard
of any Troops passing into *Italy* to their
Quarters at *Asti*, as had been promised;
Aubigni could not receive his Dispatches;
nor did the King send Money to pay the
Vitelli and the *Orsini*, who were his own
Officers, an Affair of much Importance in
an *Italian War*; for which Reason the

Vitelli

Vitelli were on the Point of enlisting themselves in the Service of the *Venetians*; but were prevented by the *Florentines*, who not having Time to give the King Notice of their Designs, engaged them, for a Year, into the common Service of the King and themselves. This was very pleasing to the King ; but he neither ratified the Agreement, nor made any Provision for his Share of the Payments : On the contrary, he sent *Gemel* to borrow of the Republic One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats. At last, making his own Will, as he frequently did, the Will of others †, he departed suddenly from *Lions*, and went to *Tours*, and thence to *Ambois*, with his usual Promise of a speedy Return : The News of which so much disheartened his Friends in *Italy*, that *Battistino Fregoso* reconciled himself with the Duke of *Milan*, who, taking Encouragement from such Proceedings, discovered daily more and more the Ill-will he had conceived against the *Venetians*,

A. D
1497.

† *Facendo della Volonta sua quella d'altri*, regarding others as Slaves, who are said to have no Will of their own but that of their Masters.

A. D. *netians* on account of the Affairs of *Pisa*,
1497. urging the Pope and Sovereigns of *Spain* to
renew, but with greater Efficacy, the
Negotiation for the Restitution of that
City.

ON account of this Negotiation the *Florentines* taking Encouragement, in the Beginning of the Year 1498, sent an Ambassador to *Rome*, with Orders to proceed with such Circumspection, that the Pontiff and the others might understand that, in case *Pisa* was restored to them, they would unite with the others in the Defence of *Italy* against the *French*: And yet that the King of *France*, if the Effect did not follow, might have no Cause to entertain any Suspicion of them. For several Days this Affair was agitated in *Rome*: The Pope, with the Ambassadors of *Spain*, *Milan*, and *Naples*, openly insisting with the *Venetian* Ambassador, that it was necessary for the common Safety, by this Means to induce the *Florentines* to unite against *France*, and that his Senate should consent to it with the rest of the Allies, that so the Roots of all Offences being extirpated,

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pated, there might be no Cause for any Power in *Italy* to invite the Ultramontanes ; and if the Union was obstructed in this Point, Matter might be perhaps administered to others for forming new Schemes, from which might result some important Alteration to the Detriment of the whole Body. But the *Venetian* Senate absolutely refused to give Ear to such a Proposition ; and, covering their Ambition under other Reasons, answered, by the Mouth of their Ambassador, with grievous Complaints, That this Motion was not made for the public Good, but proceeded from the malignant Disposition of one of the Allies towards their Republic. For the *Florentines* being warmly attached by their Inclinations to the *French*, and persuading themselves by their Return to get Possession of the best Part of *Tuscany*, there remained no Room to doubt that the reinstating them in *Pisa* was not sufficient to extinguish in them this Inclination, but would rather prove a very dangerous Step. For the more potent they became, so much the more they would have it in their Power to disturb the Peace of

Italy.

A. D. Italy. That the Honour and Faith of all
1498. the Allies was concerned in this Affair, but
especially that of their Republic : For all
the Confederates had engaged at first to
assist the *Pisans* in the Defence of their Li-
berty ; but in the Sequel, to save Expences,
had left the whole Burthen on them, tho'
for the public Good, who had never
grudged either Money or Trouble on this
Account, thinking it too much to their
Dishonour to abandon them, or fail in their
Faith which they had given them, which,
tho' others esteemed their own as nothing,
they, who were always accustomed to ob-
serve it, would in no respect violate : That
it was highly disagreeable to the *Venetian*
Senate to be charged, without any Re-
spect at all, by the rest, with what was be-
gun by common Consent, and prosecuted
for the common Good ; and that they
should, with so much Ingratitude, be stoned
for their good Works : Tho' the intolera-
ble Expence which they had been at in
this and other Undertakings, and the many
Troubles and Dangers which they had
undergone since the League was made, did
not demand such a Recompense, but on the
contrary

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contrary were of Opinion that they might boldly say that they had saved *Italy*. That the Battle on the River *Taro* was fought by no Forces but theirs, and that no Arms but theirs had recovered the Kingdom of *Naples*. What Army had obliged *Nova-
ra* to surrender? What constrained the King of *France* to repass the *Alps*? Whose Forces had opposed them in *Piedmont*, as often as he had attempted to return? Nor can any one deny that the principal Motive to those Actions was a Desire of the Safety of *Italy*. For the *Venetians* were never the first exposed to Danger; nor were they bound to correct those Disorders of which they had never been the Occasion. For they did not invite the King of *France* into *Italy*, nor accompany him with their Forces after he was arrived on that Side the Mountains; nor had they, by their Parsimony, endangered the common Cause: But, on the contrary, the *Venetian* Senate, as it was often needful, had remedied the Disorders proceeding from the Faults of others to the common Detriment. If such Exploits were not acknowledged,

A. D. or were so soon forgot, yet they would
^{1498.} not, out of Resentment, following the in-
excusable Example of others, forfeit their
Faith, or act below the Dignity of their
Republic, since the Security and Benefit
of all *Italy* were particularly connected
with the Preservation of the Liberty of the
Pisans.

WHILST this Affair was debating
with open Disagreement between the
Allies, a new Accident happened, that
produced Effects very different from
what the Public expected. For on the
Night preceding the Eighth of April
Death of the King of France. King *Charles* died at *Ambois*, of a Ca-
tarrh, called by the Physicians an A-
poplexy, which had seized him while
he was standing and looking on the
Players at Tennis. The Fit was so vi-
olent, that after a few Hours, without
being removed, he expired. Thus end-
ed, abruptly, a Life, whose Motions
rather springing from some rash and
sudden Impulse, than directed by the
Rules of true Policy, occasioned so many
Revo-

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Revolutions, and gave such Disturbance to the public Repose ; and would in all Probability, had it lasted longer, have been the Cause of many more Calamities in *Europe*. For this Prince seemed to have set his Heart so much on his darling Scheme of subjecting *Italy*, that it was expected he would at length have surmounted all Difficulties, by his own Reflections and steady Application, assisted by the Enemies of the Cardinal, the grand Opposer of his Project. At the Time of his Death, the *Italians* were in a State of Uncertainty ; for as his Motions varied, so their Expectations of his Passage increased and decreased in Proportion. It was well known the Pope, from a fond Desire of exalting his Children, held private Negotiations with *Charles* ; and it was reported afterwards, that the Duke of *Milan*, that he might not stand in continual Fears, was acting in the same Manner *. *Charles* dying without Issue, the

O 2 Crown

* The Conditions on which *Lodovico* would have been reconciled to *Charles*, were the Banishment of the Duke of *Orleans* into *Normandy*, and the Delivery of *Don Trivulzio* to him ; which would have been effected, if the King had not died. *Corio.*

A. D. Crown reverted to *Lewis Duke of Orleans*
1498.

who was the next in Blood by the Male Line: That Prince was at *Blois*, to which Place the Royal Guards and the whole Court, immediately on the King's Death, resorted; after that all the Lords of the Kingdom, one after another, paid their Respects, and acknowledged him for their King, tho' there were not wanting some who tacitly murmured that, by the ancient Statutes of that Kingdom, he had forfeited his Right to the Crown by taking up Arms against it in the War of *Bretany*.

PALM-SUNDAY, which was the Day after the Death of *Charles*, was the Period of *Savonarola's Authority* in *Florence*. Multitudes of Complaints against him had been carried to *Rome*, where he was accused of preaching, in a scandalous Manner, against the bad Discipline and Vices of the Clergy and Court of *Rome*. He was further charged with unsound Doctrine,

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Doctrine, and with fomenting Divisions in *Florence*. For these Misdemeanours he had been several times summoned to *Rome* by the Pope, but had continued refractory to his Orders, alledging divers Excuses for his Disobedience ; for which he was at last the Year before excommunicated by the Pontiff. Under so severe a Censure, he refrained for some Months from preaching ; and probably would have been absolved, had he continued some time longer in the same Submission : For the Pope himself despised him, and had exercised his spiritual Arms more at the Sollicitations of some Friars, who hated *Savonarola*, than from his own Inclination. But *Savonarola* finding that by his Silence his Interest declined, and the Ends for which he had preached could not be answered, despising the pontifical Orders, returned again to his Office ; asserting that the Censures pronounced against him were unjust and invalid, as contrary to the Divine Will, and pernicious

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nicious to the public Welfare ; and at the same time inveighed with the greatest Vehemence against the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*. This occasioned a very great Tumult : For his Enemies, who got Ground every Day, stirred up the Populace, who, above all Things, abhorred Disobedience to the Pope ; and had him reprimanded by some in the Government, for his Audaciousness, which tended to alienate the Pope's Affections from the *Florentines*, at a Juncture when he was treating with the Allies for the Restitution of *Pisa*, and ought by all means to be confirmed in that Inclination. On the other Hand, his Followers alledged in his Defence, that Divine Service was privileged from Disturbances ; that it was dangerous to admit of an Example, which would be a Precedent for Popes to intermeddle in the Affairs of their Government. These Contentions lasted several Days, till *Alexander* in great Wrath thundering out new Briefs, and threatening to interdict the City, the Magistrates ordered him to desist from preaching. *Savonarola* obeyed ; but the Dominican Friars of his Convent went from

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from Church to Church, preaching the same Doctrines ; and the Divisions among the Religious being as great as those among the Laity, the Friars and other Orders preached with great Vehemence against him. These Disputes were carried on with great Heat, and excited such Animosities both in Church and State, that at last a Friar who was a violent Devotee of *Savonarola*, and a Friar of the Order of the *Minorites*, agreed both to try by Fire the Merits of their Cause, in the Presence of the whole City, with an Intent that the Disciple of *Savonarola*, by saving or burning himself, might convince the World, whether his Master was a Prophet or an Impostor. For he had several times advanced in his Preaching that, if it were necessary, God would work a Miracle to prove the Truth of his Predictions, and conduct him safe through the Flames of a burning Pile. But the Affair now becoming too serious, he grew very uneasy that his Friar should have gone so far without consulting him ; and whilst he was meditating on Expedients to put off the Challenge, those among the Citizens who were his Enemies push-

A. D. ed it on vehemently, and thought this a
1498. good Opportunity of getting rid of so
malignant an Incendiary. On the Day
appointed, the two Friars, accompanied
by all those of their Convents, appeared
in the great Square before the Palace ;
where were assembled not only the Inha-
bitants of *Florence*, but also Multitudes
that came out of the Country. Every
thing was ready, when the *Franciscans*
were informed, that *Savonarola* had ordered
his Friar to enter the Fire with the
Sacrament in his Hand ; at which they
took Exception : Alledging, that if the
Host was burnt, it would endanger the
Authority of the Christian Faith, by
affecting the Minds of the weak and ig-
norant People. But *Savonarola*, who
was present, insisting that the Experiment
should be performed in that Manner, the
Trial was set aside. *Savonarola's* Credit
suffered greatly on this Occasion ; so
much that the next Day, on a casual
Tumult, the People took up Arms ; and
being countenanced by the supreme Magi-
stracy, they forced themselves into the
Monastery of *San Marco*, seized on *Savo-*
narola,

narola, and two other Friars, and carried them to the public Prison *. During this Confusion, the Relations of those Citizens, who the Year before had been beheaded, assassinated *Francesco Valori*, a Nobleman of great Authority, for being chief Patron of *Savonarola*, and the principal Cause that the Appeal of their Relations to the popular Council on that Occasion had not been admitted.

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SAVONAROLA was afterwards put to the Question, but in a gentle Manner ; and his Examination and Confession were by the Magistracy formed into a Process, and ordered to be published. In this Paper he was cleared of several Calumnies that had been laid to his Charge ; such as leading a dissolute Life, being avaricious, and having kept secret Correspondence with foreign Princes. He confessed that those Events he had foretold were not by Divine Revelation, but from his own Opinion founded on the Doctrine of the Holy

* The Name of one of these Friars was *Fra Dominico of Pescia*, the other *Fra Silvestro of Florence*. *Pietro Desfizo*.

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Holy Scripture, which he had profoundly studied : That what he had preached, had not proceeded from any Malignity, nor from any ambitious Views of ecclesiastical Preferments, but from Zeal, and in Hopes that, through his Means, a general Council might be assembled, in which the corrupt Manners of the Clergy might be reformed, and the State of the Church of God, which was so greatly degenerated, might be restored, so as to resemble, as much as possible, the Times next to those of the Apostles ; in which laudable Attempt, if it had pleased God to help his Labours, he should have thought himself more happy and glorious, than if he had acquired the Popedom : For the first could not have been procured but by good and sound Doctrine and Virtue, such as would have gained him the Reverence and Esteem of all the World ; whereas the other might be obtained, as it often was, by wicked Means, or good Fortune. He confirmed the Contents of this Process in the Presence of many Regulars, some of whom were of his own Order ; but in such concise Terms, as, if we may believe

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lieve his Friends, might admit of different Interpretations. After this the General of the *Dominicans*, and Bishop *Romolino*, afterwards Cardinal *Surrente*, who had been sent from *Rome*, on purpose to assist at this Trial, degraded * *Savonarola*, and two other Friars of his Order, with the Ceremonies used by the *Roman Church* on such Occasions, and delivered them over to the secular Power. They were first hanged, and then their Bodies were burnt, in the Presence of as great a Multitude, as had assembled before in the same Place, in Expectation of assisting at the miraculous Experiment of Fire. *Savonarola* died with great Intrepidity, without uttering a Word concerning his Guilt, or his Innocence; which left the Minds of the People suspended in the same Variety of Judgments and Passions. Many called him an Impostor, while others affirmed that the Confession published in his Name was either false, or what he had said, as he was of a very delicate Complexion, had been

Delfin writes, that when the Bishop, in degrading him, said he separated him from the Church, *Savonarola* replied, You mean from the Church militant.

A. D. been extorted from him more by the
^{1498.} Force of Torments than of Truth. A
Frailty which, they said, was excusable;
since the Prince of the Apostles, who was
neither imprisoned, nor compelled by Tor-
ments, nor any extraordinary Force, at
the simple Interrogation of Servant Maids
and Waiters, had denied being the Disciple
of that Master, whose holy Doctrine he
had imbibed, and to whose Miracles he had
been an Eye-Witness.

The End of the Third Book.

Sincejco

Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
O F
The WARS in ITALY.

B O O K IV.

T H E C O N T E N T S.

Lewis XII. King of France, asserts his Right to the Dutchy of Milan, and with a numerous Army gets Possession. It is regained by Lodovico; and lost again. The Affairs of Pisa are left to the Arbitration of the Duke of Ferrara. Cæsar Borgia gives up the Cardinal's Hat, and takes the Title of Duke Valentino.

HE Death of Charles King of France delivered Italy from the Fear of imminent Dangers from the French Power: For it was not supposed

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A. D. ^{1498.} ed that the new King, *Lewis XII.* would,
at the Commencement of his Reign, intan-
gle himself in a War on this Side of the
Mountains. But the reflecting Part of
Mankind was apprehensive, that the Evil
was only ripening, and would in Time
break out with greater Violence. They con-
sidered, that the new Monarch was of ma-
ture Years, experienced in military Affairs,
frugal in his Expences, and without com-
parison steadier in his Resolutions, and less
liable to be imposed on than his Predecessor.
He had not only the same Claim to the King-
dom of *Naples*, but pretended also to the
Dutchy of *Milan* in his own Right, which
he derived from Madama *Valentina* his
Grandmother, who was given in Marriage
to *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, Brother to
Charles VI. by her Father *Giovanni Ga-*
leazzo Visconti, when he was only Im-
perial Vicar, and had not yet obtained the
Title of Duke of *Milan*. Her Dowry
was the City and Territory of *Asti*, besides
a vast Sum of Money ; and in the Mar-
riage Articles it was expressly stipulated,
that in case of Failure of Issue Male of
Galeazzo's Body, Valentina and her Issue
Should

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should succeed to the Dutchy of *Milan*. This Convention, in itself of no Validity, was at that Time, as the *French* write, the Imperial Throne being vacant, confirmed by the pontifical Authority. For the *Roman* Pontiffs presume that the Administration of the vacant Empire belongs to themselves, and the Male Line of *Galeazzo* failing by the Death of *Filippo Maria Visconti*, *Charles Duke of Orleans*, Son of *Valentina*, laid Claim to the Succession of that Dutchy. But as the Ambition of Princes makes them very ready to embrace all Pretences to Empire, tho' never so frivolous, there were other Pretenders to it at the same Time: For the Emperor *Frederic* claimed it as a State which, by the Extinction of the Line nominated in the Investiture made by *Wenceslaus* the Emperor to *Giovanni Galeazzo*, reverted to the Empire; and *Alfonso King of Aragon and Naples* grounded his Claim on his being instituted Heir by the Will of *Filippo*: But the Power, Artifices, and good Fortune of *Francesco Sforza* got the better of all his Competitors; and, to accompany his Arms with some Colour of

Rea-

A. D. Reason, he asserted, that the Right of Succession was invested in his Wife *Bianca*,
^{1498.} who, tho' a natural Daughter, was still the only Child of *Filippo*.

THE above-mentioned *Charles of Orleans* was taken Captive at the Battle of *Agencourt*, and carried into *England*, where he remained Twenty-five Years a Prisoner, without being able, thro' his Poverty and ill Fortune, to make good his Right. Nor could he obtain any Aid from his near Relation *Lewis XI*. For that Prince, at the Beginning of his Reign, received a great deal of Trouble from his Grandees, who under a Pretence of public Good, but, in reality, to gratify their own private Revenge and Ambition, had taken up Arms against him ; which effectually convinced him, that his Security and Grandeur depended on lowering the Pride and Ambition of the great Men of his Kingdom. And, upon this account, *Lewis of Orleans*, the Prisoner's Son, could never obtain any Assistance from him, tho' he was his Son-in-Law. After the Death of *Lewis XI*. the Duke of

of *Orleans*, not brooking that *Anne* Duchess of *Bourbon*, the King's Sister, should be preferred to him in the Regency during the Minority of *Charles VIII.* first stirred up Commotions in *France*, tho' with bad Success, and afterwards retiring into *Bretany*, met with still greater Misfortunes. There he joined that Party which declared against the Marriage of *Anne* the Heiress of *Bretany* with *Charles*, lest that Dutchy, after the Death of *Francis* her Father without male Issue, should be annexed to *France*. But whilst he was privately aspiring to the same Matrimony, he was taken at the Battle of *St. Aubin*, fought between the *French* and *Bretons*, carried into *France*, and cast into Prison, where he continued Two Years, without being able to make good his Pretensions to the Dutchy of *Milan*; and tho' afterwards released by the King's Clemency, he could procure no Assistance from him, and never made any Attempt, except when, by the King's Orders, being left in *Asti*, he took the Opportunity to seize on *Novara*, but with little Success. But now that he was in Possession of the Crown, he had

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A. D. nothing so much at Heart as the Conquest
1498. of the *Milanese*, which he regarded as his
own Patrimony. From his Infancy he had
nourished this Desire, which was aug-
mented by the Thoughts of his Sufferings
in *Novara*, and by the insolent Treat-
ment he had received at *Asti* from *Lodovi-
co*, against whom he meditated Revenge.
Pursuant to this Resolution, a few Days
after the Death of *Charles*, by the Advice
of his Council, he took upon him the Ti-
tles, not only of King of *France*, and, in
regard to *Naples*, of *Jerusalem*, and the
Two Sicilies, but styled himself also Duke
of *Milan*. As he had then determined to
make no Secret of his real Sentiments in
regard to the Affairs of *Italy*, he imme-
diately notified in Form to the Pope,
Venetians, and *Florentines* his Accession
to the Crown; acquainting them at
the same Time with his Design of
coming into *Italy*, and more particu-
larly of his Resolution of making him-
self Master of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

THIS

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THIS Undertaking seemed to be attended with many Advantages: The Death of *Charles* had altered the Sentiments of several of the *Italian* Princes. The Pope, incited by an immoderate Thirst of Dominion, thought he could not compass his Ends, whilst *Italy* was in Peace. The *Venetians* imagined that *Charles* could never forget the Injuries they had done him; but now that Fear ceasing, they were for entering into Terms of Friendship with the new King; and this Disposition would, in all Probability, daily increase, because *Lodovico Sforza*, tho' sensible that he had to deal with a harder and more implacable Enemy, yet flattered himself with Hopes, as did also *Federigo of Aragon*, that *Lewis* could not so soon attend the Affairs on this Side the Mountains, and his present Resentment hindering him from discovering his future Dangers, he would not desist from opposing their Senate in the Affairs of *Pisa*.

THE HISTORY OF

THE *Florentines* were the only State that seemed inclinable to withdraw their Friendship from *France*. For they considered, that tho' *Lewis* had been in their Interest, yet now he was come to the Crown he was under no sort of Ties to their Republic, either by virtue of Faith given, or Benefits received, as his Predecessor had been by the Treaties of *Florence* and *Asti*, and by their having chosen to expose themselves to a Multitude of Troubles and Dangers rather than relinquish his Alliance. Besides, the Discord that continually increased between the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan* was the Cause that, being freed from their Apprehensions of the Forces of the Confederates, and placing more Hopes in the near and certain Assistance from *Lombardy*, than in the distant and uncertain Succours from *France*, they set a less Value on the *French* Friendship.

IN these different Dispositions of Mind among the *Italian* Potentates, their Proceedings were no less different. The

Venetians

Venetians sent immediate Orders to their Secretary at *Turin* to repair to the French Court, and soon after, in order to lay a Foundation for a firm Friendship, which they expected would be more and more conducive to the Interest of their Republic, they sent Three Ambassadors to congratulate the new King on his Accession, and to excuse their Conduct in regard to *Charles*, by assuring him that it proceeded from well-grounded Reasons they had to think, that he not only meditated the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*, but also that of all *Italy*. And the Pope, who was desirous to translate his Son *Cæsar* from the Cardinalship to temporal Greatness, and exalted his Thoughts to higher Projects, sent Ambassadors to *Lewis* to negociate a Traffic of heavenly Treasures for temporal Dominion. He well knew that the King was ardently solicitous to be divorced from his barren and deformed Wife *Joane*, who had almost been forced upon him by *Lewis XI.* and no less desirous of espousing *Anne* the late King's Widow, not so much out of Fondness with respect to their former Love before

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send Ambassadors
to *Lewis*.Popesends
Ambassa-
dors.

A. D. the Battle of *St. Aubin*, but because by
^{1498.} this Marriage he would secure to himself
the Possession of the Dutchy of *Bretany*,
which lay so convenient, and was so great
an Addition to his Dominions; an Affair
of Importance, and not to be compassed
without the Intervention of the Pontifical
Authority.

Florentines NOR did the *Florentines* fail to send Am-
bassadors, according to the antient Custom
of that City, out of Respect to the Crown
of *France*, and to confirm the King in the
Opinion of their Merits, and of the Ser-
vices they had done the late King;
to which they were mightily sol-
licited by the Duke of *Milan*, that by
their Means the Negotiation of the *Veneti-
ans* might be obstructed when both the
Republics came to debate on the Affairs of
Pisa, and in Hopes that, by their gaining
some Credit and Authority with the
King, they would take an Opportunity
in bringing about, what he heartily wished,
a Reconciliation between himself
and the King.

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THE Ambassadors of all these Powers were chearfully received by the King, and a Treaty immediately set on Foot with every one of them, tho' he was fully determined to make no Movement in *Italy*, till he had first secured the Kingdom of *France* by means of new Alliances with the neighbouring Princes.

BUT Heaven had decreed that the Flame which *Lodovico*, out of an immoderate Desire of Dominion, had kindled up in *Pisa*, and was continually feeding, should at last seize and destroy its Author. That Prince, either out of Envy, or Fear of impending Danger to himself and the other Potentates of *Italy* from the exorbitant Power of the *Venetians*, could not bear to see the Fruits of all his laboured Schemes and Arts of Policy become a Prey to ambitious Intruders. In this Disposition, after he had maturely considered the Resolution of the *Florentines*, and their Steadiness in the Affair of *Pisa*, imagining that by the Downfal of *Savonarola*, and Death of *Valori*, who constantly op-

A. D. 1498. posed his Measures, he might now treat with them on more firm and confident *Lodovico* Hopes of Success, he took a Resolution to *resolves to assist the Florentines* assist them with all his Power in the Recovery of *Pisa*, which neither his Negotiations nor Authority, nor the Persuasions of others had been able to effect, vainly persuading himself that, before the King of *France* could make any Movement with an Army, *Pisa*, either by Force or Treaty, would be reduced under the Power of the *Florentines*; and he took for granted, that the *Venetian* Senate, actuated by that Prudence, which had not operated on himself, would not think *Pisa* of such Consequence, as, merely out of Revenge, to suffer the Liberty of all *Italy* to be endangered by the Return of the *French*, whom, at the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure, they had so lately expelled.

THIS imprudent Resolution was hastened by an Action that happened in the Territory of *Pisa*, to the Disadvantage of the *Florentines*. They had posted a good Body of Troops at *Pontadera*, where they

they received Intelligence that a Party of Seven Hundred Horse and One Thousand Foot, that had marched out of *Pisa*, were returning from the Marshes of *Voltterra* with a great Booty. Count *Rinuccio*, and *Guglielmo de' Pazzi*, the Florentine Commissary, drew out all their Force in order to intercept their Return, and charging them in the Vale of *San Regolo* put them in Disorder, and recovered the best part of the Effects. As soon as the *Pisans* had Advice of the Commissary's Motions, they sent out One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, who attacked their Enemies while they were in Disorder, and intent on Plunder, with so much Vigour, that tho' the Count did all that was possible to rally his Men at Arms, the Florentines, after a faint Resistance made by some of their Foot, were entirely defeated, a great Number of the Infantry killed, many taken Prisoners, among them several Officers, and the best Part of the Horses also fell into the Enemy's Hands *. The Count and Commissary with

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Florentines
worsted at
San Rego-
lo.

* *Bembo* says there were Two Hundred killed, and One Hundred and Thirty taken, with Seven Standards.

A. D. with no little Hazard saved themselves
^{1498.} in *San Regolo*, laying the Blame on each other, as it commonly happens after a Miscarriage of this Nature.

Florentines apply to France for Assistance. THE *Florentines* were greatly alarmed at this Disaster, as they could not soon recruit, their General in Chief *Rinuccio* had entirely lost his Reputation, and his own Regiment had been stripped. In the present Exigence they resolved to send for the *Vitelli*, who were in the Territory of *Arezzo*, in order to march for *Pisa*, and put all their Forces under the Command of *Pagolo Vitelli*, but he refused that Charge till they gave him the Title of Captain General. They next made their Addresses to the King of *France*, humbly beseeching him to send Three Hundred Lances into *Tuscany*, in Hopes that such a Force, joined to the Authority of the royal Protection, would remove their imminent Danger ; requesting also that he would fulfil the Agreement made with the late King for keeping the *Vitelli* in their common Service, by contributing his Proportion of their Pay ;

Pay; and would moreover use his Interest with the *Venetians* to desist from Hostilities. But *Lewis*, who was unwilling to disoblige or give any Cause of Distrust to the *Venetians*, and was resolved not to meddle in the Affairs of *Italy* till he was in Readiness to invade the *Milanese*, put them off with fair Words, which produced no manner of Effect.

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IN this Extremity, as their last Refort they had Recourse to the Duke of *Milan*.^{And to the Duke of Milan-} But the Duke wanted no Intreaties, on the contrary was apprehensive lest the *Venetians* should improve this Advantage in such a manner as to render his Aid ineffectual. He thought fit therefore, without Loss of Time, to send a trusty Agent to *Florence*, to inform himself not only of what was necessary for their Defence, but for the entire Reduction of *Pisa*.

As there were no Apprehensions from *France* this Year, the whole Attention of the *Italians* was employed on the *Pisan* War, all other Parts of *Italy* enjoying Peace.

A. D. Peace. There had, indeed, been some
^{1498.} Quarrels betwecn the two Houses of the *Orfini* and *Colonnas*, but the Parties concerned, by their own Prudence and Conduct, got the better of their Enmity and Passions. The Matter of Fact in short

^{Cause of a} was this: The *Colonnas* and *Savelli*, to
War be-
tween the revenge themselves on *Jacopo Conti*, who
Families
^{of Orfini} had possessed himself of *Torre Mattia*,
and Colon- attacked the Castles belonging to the Fa-
na.

mily of *Conti*, who were then joined by
the *Orfini*, as being of the same Party.
After several Castles taken on both Sides,
they came at last to a pitched Battle at the
Foot of *Monticelli* in the Neighbourhood
of *Tivoli*, where, after fighting with great
Obstinacy and Party Rage for Honour,
Interest, and Revenge, the *Orfini*, who
^{Orfini}
^{routed at}
^{Monticelli} had Two Thousand Foot and Eight
Hundred Horse, were beaten out of the
Field, and lost all their Colours, and *Carlo*
Orfini was taken Prisoner. On the Side
of the *Colonnas*, *Antonello Savelli*, an
Officer of Reputation, was wounded, and
died in a few Days. When the Battle
was over, the Pope, pretending not to like
such Disturbances in the Neighbourhood
of

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of *Rome*, offered his Mediation, which was accepted by both Parties. But while his Holiness, with his usual Double-dealing, was amusing them, the *Orsini* assembled another Army, and besieged *Palombara*, the capital Town belonging to the *Savelli*, which the *Colonnas*, who had taken several Forts from the *Conti* after the Battle, were preparing to relieve. At last both Parties being convinced that the Pope, sometimes inclining to the *Colonnas*, at others to the *Orsini*, widened the Breaches, and inflamed their Animosities, with an Intent, after they had weakened one another, to make them both his Prey, came to a Parley, and agreed to have a Meeting at *Tivoli*, where in a few Hours they became Friends, on Condition, that *Carlo Orsini* should be set at Liberty, the Places taken on both Sides restored, and the Dispute about the Territory of *Tagliacozzo* and *Albi* referred to King *Federigo*, who had many Persons of the Family of *Colonna* in his Service.

Peace be-
tween the
two Fa-
milies.

WHAT

*Lodovico
quarrels
with the
Venetians.* WHAT now remained of the War in Italy was confined to the City and Territory of *Pisa*. The Duke of *Milan* at first intended only to give the *Florentines* a powerful Succour in Money, and that underhand. But his Resentment against the *Venetians* increasing to such a Height, as to vent itself in haughty Language, and threatening Expressions, he resolved to throw off the Mask at once, and began with denying their Troops a Passage thro' the *Parmesan* and *Pontremoli* in their March to *Pisa*, which obliged them to fetch a Compass by a longer and more difficult Way thro' the Duke of *Ferrara*'s Country. He had Interest enough with *Cæsar*, who had dismissed all the Ambassadors of the League but those of the King of *Spain*, on his recalling them, to except those of the *Venetians*. He sent Three Hundred Archers to the *Florentines*, and engaged to pay his Share towards a new Levy of Three Hundred Men at Arms, part of them to be commanded by the Lord of *Piombino*, and the rest under *Giov. Pagolo Baglione*.

He

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He lent them at several Times above Three Hundred Thousand Ducats, and was continually repeating his Offers of greater Assistance if required. He interceded also with the Pope in their Behalf, intreating his Holiness to lend a favourable Ear to the humble Applications of the *Florentines*. The Pope was convinced that it could not be for the Papal Interest that the *Venetians* should become Masters of *Pisa*, and therefore promised an Assistance of One Hundred Men at Arms, besides Three light Gallies under Captain *Villamarina*, which were to cruize before *Pisa*, and intercept all Provisions or Stores carrying thither by Sea. But he found Reason to alter his Measures, and, after many Excuses for his Delay, openly refused to send this Succour, having greater Things and more interesting to himself in Prospect, for he was now more than ever intent on entering into a strict Alliance with the King of *France*, from whom he had the Vanity to expect nothing less than the Kingdom of *Naples* for his Son.

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IT is the common Frailty of Mankind, when bent on any Project, to amuse themselves with flattering Hopes, and to represent as easy what to a calm and unprejudiced Understanding will appear difficult. It was really Matter of Astonishment that *Alexander*, after a Repulse from an Affinity with the King of *Aragon*, which, ought in reason to have knocked all his Schemes on the Head, should be so little disconcerted, as to find Occasion from that very Repulse to enlarge his Views, and form still greater Projects. Before he took this Resolution of entering into a League with *France*, he had proposed to King *Federigo* a Match between his Son, who was disposed to part with his Cardinal's Hat, and the King's Daughter, with the Principality of *Taranto* for her Dowry. He imagined that if his Son, who was endowed with great natural Parts, should once get Possession of so considerable a Member of the Kingdom, being married to a Royal Daughter, he might, with the Arms and the Pretensions of the Church to that Country, easily dispossess his Father-

Father-in-Law, who was unprovided of Men and Money, and had neither the Love nor Esteem of many of his Barons.

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Lodovico favoured the Pope's Suit, and sent *Marchesino Stampa* to *Rome*, and thence to *Naples*, to sollicit *Federigo*, first with Reasons, and then, if necessary, with Threats, to come into the Motion. That Minister was charged to remonstrate to the King the dangerous Consequence of his Refusal, which would be throwing his Holiness into the Arms of *France*; and endeavour to convince him how weak and imprudent it would appear, when the common Safety lay at Stake, to suffer himself to be biassed by *Valentino*'s Birth, and, rather than put some Violence on his own Inclinations, to risque the Preservation of his Kingdom. *Federigo* knew how to resist all these Sollicitations: He knew that a Denial might endanger his Throne, but he was also sensible that to give his Daughter in Marriage to the Cardinal of *Valenza*, with the Principality of *Taranto*, was no less hazardous. Therefore of two Dangers he would chuse to encounter that which appeared to him the

A. D. most honourable, and which would not proceed from any Act of his own. This mortifying Denial quite determined the Pope to enter into French Measures, and his Fear of offending the *Venetians*, whom he would willingly induce to make the same Step, restrained him from giving any Assistance to the *Florentines*.

BUT the *Florentines* now thought themselves strong enough in the Field, and their Affairs in a promising Way, by the Accession of so good an Ally as the Duke of *Milan*, and under the Conduct of a General of such military Reputation as *Pagolo Vitelli*. They were grown to such a Height of Resolution, and Confidence in their Commander, that no Danger appeared formidable, no Enterprize too difficult. The *Pisans*, besides the numerous Body of their Citizens and Peasants, who were experienced and resolute, had Four Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred Stradiotti, and above Two Thousand Foot Auxiliaries from the *Venetians*, who were unanimously disposed to send them still more Forces if required;

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quired ; for those very Senators who had before so warmly opposed taking the *Pisans* under the Protection of the Republic, since they found themselves embarked in the Cause, now thought it necessary, for the Honour of the Senate, to defend them.

Lodovico and his new Allies the *Florentines* resolved to augment their Army with such a Number of Troops, as should be sufficient not only to dispossess the *Pisans* of all the fortified Places in the Neighbourhood of *Pisa*, but to frustrate any Attempts from the neighbouring States, to assist the *Pisans*, or at the Solicitations of the *Venetians*, to attack any Part of the Dominions of *Florence*. With this Intent Lodovico induced Giovanni Bentivoglio, who was in Alliance with him and the *Venetians*, to acknowledge him his sole Ally ; and to lay this new Friend under stronger Obligations, the *Florentines* Bentivoglio de-
took this Son Alessandro into their Pay. clares for This was an important Step, for Alessandro Lodovico. was at the Head of Two Hundred Men at Arms raised by Lodovico in concert with

A. D. the *Venetians*, before he had resolved to
1498. declare himself. And because the Lord of
Faenza was under the Protection of the
Venetians, the *Florentines* hired *Ottaviano Riario*,
Lord of *Imola* and *Forli*, with
One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms,
to cover their Territory from any Attack
on the Side of *Romagna*. *Ottaviano* fol-
lowed in every thing the Dictates of his
Mother *Caterina Sforza*, who was entirely
at the Devotion of *Lodovico*, and the *Flo-
rentines* for several Reasons, but particu-
larly because she was privately married to
Giovanni de' Medici, and she was confi-
dent that the Duke of *Milan*, disliking
the popular Government in *Florence*, in-
tended to reinstate *Giovanni* and his
Brother in that City. *Lodovico* also ob-
tained a Promise from the *Lucchese*,
with whom he had great Authority,
that they would desist from supplying the
Pisans, whom they had always favoured;
and tho' they did not entirely comply with
their Engagement, yet they observed it in
a great measure out of Respect to him.

THERE

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THERE remained still to manage the Senese and the Genoese, both inveterate Enemies of the Florentines, who were then actually at Variance with these two States ; with one of them on account of Montepulciano, and with the other on the Affair of the Lunigiana. It was feared that the Senese, from an old Grudge, would, as usual, tho' to their own Detriment, supply the Enemies of the Florentines with all the Conveniences their Country would afford : And tho' the Genoese, out of antient Emulation, must be conceived averse to the Settlement of the Venetians at Pisa, yet as there was little Regard ever shewn in Genoa to the public Welfare, both Venetian and Pisan Vessels continued to traffic in their Port for the Benefit that accrued to Particulars, and to the great Advantage of the Pisans. By Lodovico's Advice the Florentines sent Ambassadors to both these States ; but the Treaty with the Genoese came to nothing, for that People peremptorily insisted on the Delivery of Sarzana, on the sole Consideration of a Promise that the Pisans should

A. D. receive no sort of Supplies from the Domi-
1498. nions of *Genoa*; which Condition the *Flo- rentines* regarding as attended with a cer- tain Loss for a small and even doubtful Gain, refused to buy their Friendship at so dear a Rate.

Floren-
tines take
the Field. WHILE these Things were in Agita- tion, the *Florentines*, under their new Captain General, took the Field, with an Army stronger in Horse than Foot; which obliged the *Pisans*, who, since the Fight at *San Regolo*, had scowered the Country with their Stradiotti without Controul, to break up their Camp at *Ponte di Sacco*. *Vitelli* first took *Calcinaia*, and while he was expecting some Recruits of Infantry, received Intelligence that the *Venetians* posted at *Cascina*, under *Marco Martinengo* kept no Guard nor Discipline, he suddenly fell upon them, killed many of the Stradiotti, with *Giovanni Gradenico*, Captain of Men at Arms, and took *Franco* Chief of the Stradiotti, with One Hun- dred Horse Prisoners. On this the *Vene- tians* abandoned *Cascina*, and retired to *Borgo di San Marco*, where they waited for
Surpises
the Vene- tians,

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for Reinforcements from *Venice*. *Pagolo Vitelli*, being now joined by his Foot, made a Feint of attacking *Cascina*; but while the *Pisans* were preparing for its Defence, he detached Three Thousand Men with Orders to post themselves on the upper Grounds, and then, with great Labour and Difficulty passing his heavy Cannon over the Mountains, crossed the *Arno*, and invested *Buti*, which was taken by Storm the next Day after it began to be battered. The General chose rather to attack *Buti* than *Pisa*; for considering with himself the desparate Obstinacy of the *Pisans*, their Numbers, the Multitude of Peasants in the Town, who by long Exercise were become expert Soldiers, together with the *Venetian* Garrison, and the Strength of the Walls and Fortifications, he laid aside all thoughts of reducing *Pisa* by Force. He judged it therefore more expedient to weaken the Place, by taking in those Forts that lie on the Right of the *Arno*, and so intercept all Communication with the neighbouring States. For this End, after taking *Buti*, he erected a Fort on the Hill of *San*

A. D. Giovanni della Vena, and with the same
1498. Labour as before brought his Cannon
before a Fort which the *Pisans* had erected
near *Vico*, possessed himself of all the
Territory of *Valdecalci*, raised another For-
tification at *Pietra Dolorosa* above *Vico*
Pisano, to prevent all Passage of Provisions
by that Road, and invested the Fortress
of the *Verrucola*. Count *Rinuccio* had
posted himself in *Valdinievole*, to be a
Check upon the *Pisans*, and frustrate all
Sallies which it was expected they would
hazard for preventing the Sieges of *Libra-*
fatta and *Valdiserchio*; yet this did not
prevent a Sally of Four Hundred Men,
who surprised and cut to Pieces some *Flo-*
rentine Foot in the Church of *San Mi-*
chele, designed to assist at the Siege of
Verrucola. *Pagolo* in the mean time made
himself Master of the Fort near *Vico*,
allowing the Garrison to march out with
their Cannon for *Vico Pisano*, and then
encamped before *Vico*, where he opened
the Trenches, not on the same Side it had
been besieged by the *Florentines*, when
himself defended it, but that towards

San

San Giovanni della Vena, by which Means A. D.
he prevented all Succours from *Pisa*. A ^{1498.}
large Breach being made the Governor
surrendered on Condition that the Garrison
should march away, and the Inhabitants
should be safe in their Persons and Effects.
They did not care to hold out to Extremi-
ty, because *Vitelli*, when he took *Buti*, or-
dered Three German Gunners to have
their Hands chopped off, besides other
Cruelties, to strike a Terror. *Vico* being
taken by *Pagolo*, his good Fortune favour-
ed him on another Occasion : For the *Pi-*
sans imagining it would be easy to surprise
the Fort *Pietra Dolorosa*, made a furious
Attack upon the Place before Break of
Day, with Two Hundred light Horse,
and some chosen Infantry ; but meeting
with longer Resistance than was expected,
it happened that in the Heat of Action *Pa-*
golo was perceived hastening over the
Hills to the Relief of the Place. The
Assailants then had nothing to do but to
make the best of their Way to *Pisa*, in
which near *Calci* they fell in with *Vitel-*
lozzo who waited to intercept them, and
Pagolo

A. D. 1498. *Pagolo* coming up, they were totally routed, and many of the Horse, and most part of the Foot killed.

Agree- IN the mean time the *Florentines* re-
ment pro- ceived Information from the Duke and
posed be- tween the others, that the *Venetians* were inclined to
Venetians make Peace, and that all Differences
and *Flo-* might be easily accommodated, provided
rentines. the Republic of *Florence* would consent,
as was decent and proper, to treat with
the *Venetians* as with a superior Republic,
and not as with their Equals. On this
Flor- Advice *Guido Antonio Vespucci* and *Ber-*
en- *nardo Ruccellai*, Two Citizens of great
ren- Authority, were sent to *Venice* to inform
tines themselves of the Senate's real Intentions.
send *Ambassa-* This Application would have been made
dors to *Venice*. much sooner, had not the *Florentines* stood
in fear of disobliging King *Charles*, and
were also conscious to themselves that
while they were visibly too weak to sub-
due *Pisa*, all Intreaties not enforced by
the Authority of some signal Action are
vain and fruitless. But now having a
powerful Force in the Field, and the
Duke

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Duke of Milan having openly declared A. D.
1498. against the Venetians, they began to entertain Hopes of finding out some Expedient for an Honourable Agreement.

THE Ambassadors were received very honourably, and introduced to the Doge and College; where after making Excuses in the Name of their Republic for sending no sooner, " which, they said, was owing to the Iniquity of the Times, and the Circumstances of their City, they, in plain Terms, desired them to desist from the Defence of *Pisa*, which they had Reason to expect, since the Florentine Republic had given no just Cause of Offence, and the Venetian Senate was famous for doing Justice, which was the Basis of all Virtues, and ought to be preferred to any other Consideration in Government." The Doge answered, " that it was true the Florentines had not injured them, and that the Venetians had not undertaken the Defence of *Pisa*, with an Intent to offend the Florentines, but merely because they had joined with the French,

A. D. ^{1498.} French, and differed in their Politics from all the rest of the *Italian* Potentates. The common Safety, therefore, had engaged the Allies to promise the *Pisans* their Assistance. That if others were regardless of their Word, they would not, against the known Rule of their Republic, follow so vile an Example. But if they had any thing to offer by which the Freedom of the *Pisans* might be preserved, they were ready to convince the World, that no private Interest or Ambition could induce them to persevere in their Hostilities against the *Florentines*." After this it was for several Days debated, in what Manner both Parties might be satisfied; but neither the Ambassadors nor the Senate were willing to make their Proposals. It was agreed that the *Spanish* Ambassadors, who wished well to both, should be admitted into their Councils. He was of Opinion that the *Pisans* might return under the *Florentine* Dominion, not as Subjects, but as Confederates, or rather under their Protection, and enjoy the same Charter and Privileges as had been allowed to the City of *Pistoia*; which would be a sort of

Medium

Medium between Slavery and Liberty. ^{A. D.} The *Venetians*: objected that no Traces of ^{1498.} Liberty could remain in a City, where the Fortifications and Administration of Justice were in the Hands of another Power. Thus the Ambassadors finding no Hopes of succeeding quitted *Venice*, ^{Ambassy} ^{unsuccess-} ^{ful.} fully persuaded that the *Venetians* would never, unless forced, abandon *Pisa*, whether they were continually sending Recruits.

THE Senate had not much to fear this Year from the *Florentines*, who had not taken the Field early in the Spring, and the Season being far advanced, could not keep the Field much longer on account of the Floods, to which the Country about *Pisa* is, by its low Situation, very subject. They ordered a new Levy of Five Hundred Men at Arms, to be commanded by the Duke of *Urbino*, to whom they gave the Title of Governor, and who, pursuant to some Intelligence, was to make a Diversion by attacking the *Florentines* on a different Quarter. They purposed also to serve themselves of *Piero de'*

A. D. de' Medici, on whose account they levied
1498. Two Hundred Men at Arms under *Carlo Orsini* and *Bartolomeo Alviano*. Nor were they without Hopes of inducing *Bentivoglio* to invade their Country on the Side of the *Bolognese*. For the Duke of *Milan*, it seems, was dissatisfied with him because his Son *Annibale Bentivoglio* had preferred the *Venetian* Service before the Duke's. And this new Offence revived the Memory of former Injuries, which he pretended he had received from him. For when *Ferdinando* Duke of *Calabria* marched into *Romagna*, *Bentivoglio* took that Opportunity to seize on some Castles of the *Milanese*, which, he said, belonged to his Son *Aleffandro* by Right of Dowry. But by the Mediation of the *Florentines* the Castles were restored to *Lodovico*, which frustrated the *Venetians* in their Hopes of Assistance from *Bentivoglio*. They applied next to the *Senese*, whom they had Reason to think not averse to their Measures; for, besides the natural Disposition of that People to take up Arms against the *Florentines*, they happened to be in a great Ferment at that Time on the

fol-

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following Occasion. The Duke of *Urbino*, and the *Orsini* with Two Thousand Foot and Four Hundred Stradiotti, had halted at *La Fratta* in the Territory of *Perugia*, from whence they sent a Message to the Government of *Siena* to desire a Passage through their Territory. *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who by his superior Parts and Management had raised himself to the supreme Dignity in that Republic, was for granting a Passage; but *Nicolò Borghese*, his Father-in-Law, with the Family of the *Belanti* opposed it, merely in Contradiction to *Pandolfo*, of whose Power they were jealous. They pleaded that to grant a Truce to the *Florentines*, as *Pandolfo* and the Duke of *Milan* would persuade them, was only giving them an Opportunity of first subjecting *Pisa*, and then turning with their whole Force against *Siena*. On the contrary, the Republic, like a wise State, ought to improve the present Juncture, and not enter into any Treaty that was not likely to produce a solid Peace, in which *Montepulciano* should be yielded to the *Senese*. They were conscious, that the Government of

Florence

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Florence would never make this Concession,
and expected that the *Venetians*, for so
signal a Service, would assist them in
diminishing *Pandolfo's* Authority. As for
Pandolfo, he found great Difficulty in
gaining his Point, for the Populace had
a natural Antipathy to the *Florentines*, and
it was urged, with a plausible Air, that
they had a fair Opportunity now given
them of obliging the *Florentines* under
their present Distress to give up *Monte-*
pulciano. These Reasons seemed to out-
weigh those of *Pandolfo*, who, on his
Side, represented, besides the common
Calamities of War, the Danger of per-
mitting the *Venetians* to have a Footing in
Tuscany. He insisted on this Point with
much Warmth, and told the People that
they had no Occasion to look out for
foreign Examples, it being fresh in the
Memory of many then present, that in
the Year 1578, when they joined *Ferdi-*
nando King of Naples against the *Floren-*
tines they were on the Point of being
enslaved by that Prince, which nothing
could have prevented, had not *Mahomet*
the *Ottoman Emperor*, by taking *Otranto*
in

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in the Kingdom of Naples, obliged the King to recall his Son *Alfonso*, with his Forces from Siena. In their own History they might also find the Time when, out of Resentment to the *Florentines* on account of this very *Montepulciano*, they put the State under the Subjection of Count *Vertue*, to induce him to take up Arms against that Republic. These Arguments, how just soever, were not powerful enough to bring the People into *Pandolfo's* Sentiments. He found himself therefore under a Necessity to call to his Assistance many of his Friends out of the Country, by whose Concurrence having secured the public Peace and himself from Tumults, he made a Five Year's Truce with the *Florentines*, who in return, paying a greater Regard to their Fear of the present Danger than to the Dignity of the State, obliged themselves to destroy part of the Bridge of *Valiano*, together with the Redoubt, which had given so much Umbrage to the *Senese*, who were permitted to erect what Forts they pleased between *Chiane* and *Montepulciano*. This Treaty raised *Pandolfo's* Power and Authority

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thority to such a Height, as enabled him
not long after to get his Father-in-Law condemned to die for ardently opposing his Measures ; which struck such a Terror into the Party, that they quietly suffered him to rule the State in as absolute a Manner as he pleased.

THE *Venetians* being thus disappointed at *Siena*, and not able to obtain a Passage for their Troops through the Territory of *Perugia*, resolved to attack the *Florentines* by the Way of *Romagna*, where they expected, that, by Means of *Piero de' Medici's* Interest, it would be easy to reduce the Towns in the *Appenines*. For this Purpose they obtained Leave of the petty Lord of *Faenza* to march a Body of Troops through the Valley of *Lanione*, accompanied by *Piero* and *Giuliano de' Medici*, who took Possession of *Marradi*, a Town on the *Appenines* facing *Romagna*, without Opposition ; for *Dionigi di Naldo*, a Gentleman whose Estate lay in the Valleys between those Hills, who had Orders to assemble the Peasants, and to raise Three Hundred Soldiers, had so few Troops with

with him, that he thought fit to quit
the Place and retire. The *Venetians*
then laid Siege to *Castiglione*, a Fort
on an Eminence above *Marradi*, and
were in Hopes of taking it, for there
was a Scarcity of Provisions and Water
in the Place, and the Conquest of it
would have opened them a Passage
into *Mugello*, a Territory contiguous to
Florence. But the Dearth of Provi-
sions was happily compensated by the
Resolution of the Governor, and the
Want of Water by Providence; for
there fell such a Quantity of Rain, that in
one Night all the Cisterns and Vessels
were filled.

In the mean time Count *Rinuccio*, and
the Lord of *Piombino*, with other Generals,
marched through *Mugello* to the Relief of
the Fort, and obliged the *Venetians* to re-
tire with Precipitation; for as they had
expected but little Resistance in those
Parts, they were but ill provided to look
the Enemy in the Face. As soon as the
Duke of *Milan* received Intelligence of this
Irruption, he ordered Count *Gajazzo*, who

A. D. was at *Cotignuola* with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and One Thousand Foot, and *Fracassa*, who was arrived from *Forli* with One Hundred Men at Arms, to follow the Invaders. But these, to avoid the Danger of being hemmed in between two Armies, turned off and joined the Duke of *Urbino*, who had marched from *Perugia*, and was encamped with the rest of the *Venetian* Forces between *Ravenna* and *Forli*, with little Hopes of undertaking any thing of Consequence. For, besides the *Florentine* Troops in *Romagna*, the Duke of *Milan* had Five Hundred Men at Arms, and Five Hundred Archers in that Territory, exclusive of One Thousand Foot appointed to guard the important Passes of *Forli* and *Inola*.

Vitelli's Exploits in Pisan DURING these Transactions *Pagolo Vitelli*, having made himself Master of *Vico Pisano*, rested there some Days; but finding Provisions grow short, and being desirous of straitening more and more the *Pisans*, he resolved on the Siege of *Librafatta*. And in order to avoid

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avoid the Inconveniences attending the March of an Army incumbered with Artillery and heavy Baggage, he chose to avoid the beaten Road that leads over the Hills to the Plains of *Pisa*, as also another Road, that goes round the Hills from the Plains of *Pisa* to *Librafatta*; and, with the Help of a vast Number of Pioneers, made a new Way over the Mountains, by which he marched, taking in by the Way a Redoubt the *Pisans* had erected on *Monte Maggiore*, and descended into the Plain of *Librafatta* unmolested. The next Day without much Difficulty he possessed himself of *Potito* and *Castel Vecchio*, two Forts near one another, and at a small Distance from the Town; on this last Fort, and some other Places of Advantage, he planted his Artillery, in Hopes that the Walls being by this Means battered above and below, the Breaches might be mounted, and the Place taken the next Day. But in the Night an Arch of the Wall fell down, and filled up the Breach to the Height of Four Braces; so that *Vitelli*

A. D. having in vain attempted to scale the Walls
¹⁴⁹⁸ for Three Days successively, began to doubt of Success, and the more because the Besiegers were greatly annoyed by a large Piece of Cannon that scoured their Trenches. But *Pagolo's* Courage and Industry on this Occasion were highly indebted to Fortune, without whose Favour good Generals often find their most promising Hopes frustrated; for a lucky Shot from the Camp dismounted the Enemy's murdering Piece of Cannon, killed one of their best Gunners, and made its Way through the Rampart. This Accident so terrified the Besieged, who besides could not mount the Wall without great Danger from the Cannon on *Castel Vecchio*, that they capitulated the Fourth Day, and surrendered the Town, and soon after the Castle when the Cannon began to play.

LIBRAFATTA being taken, *Pagolo* set his Men at Work in erecting Forts on the neighbouring Hills, particularly a large and strong Fort at *Santa Maria in Castello*, which from the Mount on which it was seated

seated was called *Ventura*; from this Fort he made Excursions all over the Country. It is reported that on this very Spot of Ground, *Castruccio* of *Lucca*, a famous Commander, formerly built a Castle, by means of which, and of *Librafatta*, he intercepted all Convoys of Provisions coming to *Pisa* from *Lucca* and *Pietra Santa*.

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THE *Venetians*, always attentive on every thing that might conduce to the Preservation of *Pisa*, thought of making an Advantage of some Discontent and Uneasiness of the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who was in the Duke of *Milan's* Service, and was dissatisfied at his being refused the Title of Captain General, which *Lodovico* did not think fit to grant, lest it should offend *Giovanni Galeazzo da Sanseverino*, on whom he had conferred that Honour, more out of personal Regard, than for true Merit. But he made the Marquis a Promise that in Three Months Time he would procure him the Title of Captain General, either from the King of the *Romans*, or from the Pope, or from

A. D. the King of Naples, or at least from the
^{1498.} *Florentines*. The Three Months being
elapsed, and nothing done in his Favour,
and his Pay being also in Arrear, the
Marquis applied himself to the *Venetians*,
offering to enter again into their Service.
They accepted this Offer of the Marquis,
and agreed to send him to *Pisa* at the
Head of Three Hundred Men at Arms.
Lodovico being apprised of this Negotia-
tion, with *Galeazzo*'s Consent, declared
him Captain General both of his own
and *Cæsar*'s Forces. But the Marquis had
already been at *Venice*, and, notwithstanding
the Opposition made by the *Florentines*,
had accepted of the Commission, had
received a Sum of Money to enable him
to march to the Assistance of the *Pisans*,
and was returned to *Mantoua* to put him-
self in Readiness. And had the *Venetians*
been as expeditious in dispatching as they
were in enlisting him, they might have
retained him, and secured him in their
Service: But they proceeded slowly, on
account of an Offer that was made them
by some old Friends of the *Medici*, who
engaged to deliver the Castle of *Bibbiena*
in

in the *Casentino* into their Hands, and representing the Difficulties of sending Reinforcements to *Pisa*, inclined the Senate to conclude it more expedient to set their Thoughts on making Diversions than on sending Succours. The Marquis, provoked at this Delay, returned into *Lodovico's* Service with Three Hundred Men at Arms and One Hundred light Horse, and was complimented with the Title of Captain General of the Imperial and *Milanese* Forces. As for the Money he had received of the *Venetians*, he pretended it was his Due upon old Arrears.

THE Plot concerning *Bibbiena* was not carried on so secretly but that the *Florentines* got Notice of it, and having been informed of all the Particulars from *Bologna*, immediately deputed a Commissary to *Bibbiena* to prevent the Danger. But the most careful and prudent Designs are rendered vain and useless, when negligently or imprudently conducted. The Commissary indeed immediately secured the most suspected, but was afterwards weak enough

to

A. D. to release them on the bare Credit of their
^{1498.} own Asseverations ; and took so little Pre-
caution in other Respects, that he facilit-
ated the Measures of the Disaffected.
Alviano, who was intrusted with the
Execution of the Plot, dispatched some
of his Horsemen, accoutred like Travel-
lers, who riding all Night arrived by Break
of Day at *Bibbiena*, and seized on a Gate
of the Town without Opposition, for the
Bibbiena
taken by
Stratagem Commissary had placed no Guard, nor so
much as given Orders, as in suspicious
Times he ought, not to open the Gates
so early as usual. This first Party was
soon followed by successive Detachments
of Horse, who gave out on the Road,
that they belonged to *Vitelli*. Their
Friends in the Town had now no more to
do but to declare themselves openly with
all Security, and thus was the Place taken
without a Blow *. *Alviano* arrived the
same Day and tho' his Force was but
small,

* *Bembo* writes that the *Venetians* passed for *Floren-*
sines come to reinforce the Garrison, by which Stratagem
they had before got Possession of the famous Monastery
of *Camaldoli*. *Buonocorfi* says that *Piero de' Medici* and
Alviano sent a Gentleman with a Letter signed with Ten
coun-

small, yet as he was never wanting to push his good Fortune with all possible Celerity, he immediately invested *Poppi*, A. D.
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the strongest Fortress in the Vale of *Bibbiena*; but finding it well provided, he thought fit to draw off, and take Possession of all the little Places in the Neighbourhood of *Bibbiena*, tho' of no great Importance. The River *Arno* runs thro' the *Casentino*, which is a narrow, rocky, and barren Country, at the Foot of the *Appennines*, at that Time covered with Snow, as it was the Beginning of Winter; but it was a Pass that, if *Poppi* had been taken, would have commanded the Road to *Florence*, and lay no less convenient for a Passage into the rich and fertile Territories of *Arezzo*, and *Valdarno*, which are full of Towns and Villages, and of great Importance to the *Florentines*, who were by no Means wanting to themselves in so dangerous a Juncture, but made Provision of all Things necessary for Defence in every

counterfeit Names of Magistrates of *Florence*, ordering Quarters to be provided for Eighty Horse on their March thither commanded by *Giulio Vitelli*, by which Means *Alviano* with One Hundred Horse was admitted into the Town instead of *Vitelli*.

A. D. every Place that required it. And by keeping good Intelligence, they had the good Fortune to discover and suppress a Conspiracy forming against them at *Arezzo*, and immediately sent Orders to Count *Rinuccio*, who was in the *Pisan*, to march and possess himself of the Passes between *Valdibagno* and *La Pieve San Stefano*, in order to prevent the *Venetians* from pouring more Troops into the *Casentino*. But all their Precaution could not hinder the

Duke of Urbino, *Carlo Orsini*, and other Generals, with Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Six Thousand Foot, and some German Mercenaries, from penetrating into that Country, and intirely subje~~t~~ting the same, except the Fortress of *Poppi*, which was a second Time attempted in vain.

Florentine Forces march a. against the Duke. THIS unexpected Irruption put the *Florentines* under a Necessity of recalling *Pagolo Vitelli* with his Forces from the *Pisan*, which was what the *Venetians* chiefly had in View by making this Diversion. That General leaving sufficient Garrisons in Fort *Ventura* and other important

portant Places, marched into the Casen- A. D.
tino; and obliged the Enemy to quit the 1498.
Neighbourhood of *Prato Vecchio*, where
they had begun to entrench themselves,
and being afterwards joined by *Fracassa*
with Five Hundred Men at Arms, and
Five Hundred Foot from the Duke of
Milan, reduced them to great Straits *.
The *Venetians* were dispersed in small
Bodies, for Conveniency of Quarters, and
were besides obliged to post several Corps
in the Passes of *Vernia*, *Chiusi*, and *Montalone*, situate on the Tops of the *Appenines*,
to secure themselves a Retreat. They
had now little Hopes left of making any
Progress here or elsewhere, for *Rinuccio*
with Two Hundred Lances had thrown
himself into *Arezzo*, and the Peasants
were by no Means their Friends, being
disaffected to the Family of the *Medici*,
and besides their Horses wanted Forage in
that hilly Country. For these Reasons it
was thought fit to send back the Artillery
with Part of the heavy Baggâge, and

draw

* *Bembo* tells us that *Vitelli* gave a general Assault
to *Pisa* before he went off.

VITELLI had determined to proceed with Caution, and to attempt nothing with Precipitation, as he was naturally wary and patient. To obtain a considerable Advantage, he never regarded Length of Time or Hardship of Fatigue. He would not, to save Expences, venture on an Undertaking without an abundant Supply of all Necessaries ; neither would he, for the Glory of obtaining an easy and speedy Victory, rashly endanger his Army, and the Success of his Enterprize. With this Disposition he deferred the Attack of the strong Places in the *Casentino* till he had made himself Master of the weakest, and secured the Passes of the *Appennines*, with Guards, Forts, and other Incumbrances, by spoiling the Roads, and felling Trees across them, by which means the Enemy would not only be prevented from receiving fresh Supplies, but be disabled from giving Assistance to each other from their different Quarters. In this manner he hoped to distress them,

them, - not doubting, but their chief Strength, which lay in and about Bibbiena, would soon be put to Hardships for want of Provisions and Forage. With this View he took Possession of several small Places, insignificant in themselves, but serviceable to his Purposes, and afterwards surprised several Men at Arms in their Quarters about Bibbiena. As soon as he received Intelligence that the *Venetians* were assembling a Body of Men on the other Side of the Mountains, he possessed himself of the Places about Mount *Verna*, and blocked up all the Passes, and spoiled the Roads, to prevent their marching to the Succour of their Troops on this Side the Hills in the *Casentino*, by which Means the Enemy's Forces in that Country were greatly distressed, Numbers deserted, and many others fell into the Hands of the Peasants in that rough and difficult Country, and were stripped and plundered.

Tho' the Florentine Ambassadors had left *Venice* without Success, another Negotiation was set on Foot in *Ferrara*, at

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A. D. at the Sollicitations of the *Venetians*. For
1498. many of the graver Senators began to be
tired of a War that was maintained at so
vast an Expence, and attended with such
Difficulties ; and as they had now no
Prospect of making any farther Progress
in the *Casentino*, they grew more and
more desirous of relinquishing their
vexatious Engagements with *Pisa*, pro-
vided they could extricate themselves with
Honour.

King of
France
treats with
the *Vene-
tians*.

In ALL this while the King of France
was making Preparations to invade the
Milanese the following Year, and expected
to be joined by the *Venetians*, the mortal
Enemies of Lodovico. For this End he
entered into a Treaty of strict Alliance
with the Republic. But he treated with
more Freedom and Confidence of a firm
Union with the Pope ; who, tho' disap-
pointed of an Alliance with Federigo by
his rejecting the Match proposed by his
Holiness, still retained his ambitious Views
towards the Kingdom of Naples, and put
all his Trust in the King for obtaining,
through his Means, Federigo's Daughter
Charlotta,

Charlotta, who was brought up at the French Court, for his Son Cardinal *Valenza*. ^{A. D.} 1498.

Lewis, at whose Disposal the Princess ^{and with} seemed to be, had given the Pope ^{the Pope,} encouragement to hope that his Desire would be gratified. On this Prospect the Cardinal came one Morning into the Confistory, and humbly intreated his Holiness and their Eminences the Cardinals for Leave to divest himself of his Ecclesiastic Habit and Dignity, and to follow that Profession to which he seemed ordained by Fate. On giving their Consent, he clothed himself in secular Apparel, and prepared for his Journey to *France*. The Pope had already promised to send the King a Bull for his Divorce, and *Lewis* in return had obliged himself, ^{Articles of the Treaty.} as soon as he should have conquered the Dutchy of *Milan*, to assist him in reducing to the Obedience of the Apostolic See the Cities possessed by the Vicars in *Romagna*, and to pay him immediately Thirty Thousand Ducats, which his present Exigencies required. This Sum, he pretended, was no more than what was necessary for the King's Interest, since he

A. D. was obliged to keep an extraordinary
^{1498.} Guard to defend himself from Conspiracies, which he expected would be formed against him on Account of his Union with *France*. In the Execution of this Treaty the King began with paying the Money, and the Pope committed the Affair of the Divorce to his Nuncio the Bishop of *Ceuta*, and to the Archbishops of *Paris* and *Rouen*. The Queen at first pleaded in Court by her Counsel, but finding she could not confide in her Judges, and that she must at last be obliged to submit to the King's Power, she withdrew her Plea, and gave up the Cause, agreeing to accept of the Revenues of the Dutchy of *Berry* for her Maintenance, with an Addition of Thirty Thousand Livres Yearly. The Sentence of Divorce was pronounced by the Judges, and nothing now remained for the Solemnization of the new Marriage, but the Dispensation to be brought by *Cæsar Borgia*, who, from Cardinal and Archbishop of *Valenza*, now became a Soldier, and Duke *Valentino*, for the King had made him a Captain of One Hundred Lances, with

Lewis

divorced.

with a Salary of Twenty Thousand Livres, ^{A. D.}
 and gave him the City of *Valence* in ^{1498.}
Dauphiné, with the Title of Duke, and
 a Revenue of Twenty Thousand Livres
 more*. The Duke embarked at *Ostia*
 on board a Squadron the King had sent
 thither for that Purpose, and arrived at
 Court the latter End of the Year with
 great Pomp and Magnificence, where he
 was received by the King with wonderful
 Marks of Esteem. He brought with him
 a Cardinal's Hat for *George d'Amboise*,
 who had constantly attended the King ^{Archbp.}
 both in his good and bad Fortune, and ^{of Rouen} made a
 had a great Share in his Confidence. But ^{Cardinal.}
Valentino's first Step at Court was by no
 means satisfactory. He pretended that
 he had not brought with him the Bull of
 Dispensation, being thus instructed by his
 Father, who imagined that the King's
 Eagerness would forward his Designs,
 and that he would be sooner induced to
 gratify him with the Expectation than
 with the Remembrance of a Benefit. But
 the Bishop of *Ceuta*, under a Promise of

* *Valence*, a City in *Dauphiné*, is the Capital of the *Valentinois*, and was erected into a Duchy for *Cæsar Borgia*.

A. D. Secrecy, revealed the whole Mystery.
 1498. Wherefore the King being well satisfied
 in his Conscience of the Expedition of
 the Bull, made no farther Scruple, but
 went to Bed to his new Bride*. The
 Duke then thought fit to produce the
 Bull, but being informed how he had been
 betrayed by the Bishop, he took care
 afterwards to have him dispatched by
 Poison.

Lewis concludes a Peace with Spain THE King was now very sollicitous to prevent Disturbances from the neighbouring Princes. He concluded a Peace with the King of *Spain*, and that Monarch resolving to interfere no more in the Affairs of *Italy*, recalled all his Ambassadors from that Country, excepting one at *Rome*, and ordered *Gonsalvo* and his Forces to return into *Spain*, yielding to *Federigo* those Places in the Province of *Calabria* which he had hitherto detained.

BUT

* The Wife from whom *Lewis* was divorced was *Giovanna*, Sister to *Charles VIII.* a crooked Lady. His new Wife was *Anne Duchess of Bretany*, Widow of *Charles VIII.*

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BUT *Lewis* found it more difficult to accommodate Matters with the King of the *Romans*, who took Occasion from some Tumults arising in *Burgundy*, to enter that Country; for which Purpose he was furnished by *Lodovico* with a considerable Sum of Money, on a Presumption that a War with *Cæsar* would prevent the *Italian Expedition*, or if a Peace was concluded that he should be comprehended in the Treaty, as *Maximilian* had promised him. But after some Time spent in negotiating the King signed a Treaty with the Archduke, by which he restored to him the Towns he possessed in the Province of *Artois*. The King of the *Romans* was so well satisfied with this Peace, so advantageous to his Son, that he agreed to a Truce for several Months, without any Mention of *Lodovico*, with whom he pretended to be dissatisfied, for not continuing to comply with his exorbitant Demands of Money.

THE King of *France* also confirmed the Peace his Predecessor had made with

A. D. England, and having thus taken all Pre-
cautions for the Security of his Dominions,

Lewis confirms the Peace he rejected all the Overtures made him by the Duke of Milan, who had corrupted several of the Courtiers, and tried all

Eng. land. Methods to get both *Venetians* and *Florentines* into his Interest. And that *Pisa*

might be no Bar to his Designs, he pressed the *Venetians* to deposit the same in his

Hands ; and to induce the *Florentines* not to raise Objections, he underhand promised to restore it to them after a short Time *.

This Treaty, which was full of Difficulties, and entered into with different Views and Interest, was for several Months variously conducted. For the *Florentines* in the Case under Consideration must have entered into an Alliance with *France*, and as it was doubted whether *Lewis* was a more religious Observer of his Treaties than his Predecessor had been, the Government could not agree among themselves.

* The *Florentines* agreed to have *Pisa* deposited in the King's Hands, but used their Endeavours to have it deposited in the Hands of *Pagolo Vitelli*, the King's Friend, or with the College of Cardinals, who should be impowered to deliver it without the Pope's Consent. *Buonocorsi.*

selves. Thus the City, agitated between the Ambition of the chief Citizens and the Licentiousness of the popular Government, and at the same Time engaged with the Duke of *Milan* on account of *Pisa*, was so divided, that it was with great Difficulty that any thing of Moment could be settled, while some of the great Men wished the Downfall of the Duke of *Milan* by the Hands of the *French*, and others were as much in his Interest.

THE *Venetians*, how much soever inclined to enter into an Alliance with *France*, were determined not to yield to the Deposite, for they expected better Terms, both as to the Reimbursement of their Ex-pences, and with respect to their Honour, from the Treaty at *Ferrara*; *Lodovico* chose also to have this Matter rather settled by the Duke of *Ferrara*, lest the depositing of *Pisa* might be a Means of uniting the *Venetians* and *Florentines* with *France*. He was not without Hopes also that if Affairs were once determined by the *Italians* themselves, the *Venetians* might be induced to give over all Thoughts

A. D. of attempting any thing to his Prejudice.

^{1498.}

But these were the very Reasons why Lewis did not approve the Treaty of Ferrara; and the Pope, always on the Watch to take Advantage of the Misfortunes of others, did his Endeavours to weaken and disturb it. For as his Authority was very great with the King in all Matters relating to Italy, he imagined that if the Treaty concerning the Deposite made any Progress, he might have a Share in the Management.

IT was now under Deliberation at Venice, whether, in Case the French should give up the Point of the Deposite, which they were resolved never to comply with, they should join the French against the Duke of Milan, as they were earnestly sollicited, and moreover tempted with an Offer of Cremona, and the whole Ghiardadda. This Acquisition and Enlargement of Dominion was universally liked, and eligible in itself, but the Conditions on which it was to be obtained deserved the most serious Consideration, as it appeared

peared too dangerous to the Republic, to suffer the *French* Power to grow to an extravagant Height in *Italy*. A Council of the Pregati, which supplies the Place of the Senate, was summoned, where after long Debates from time to time, on the Day appointed for coming to a final Resolution, *Antonio Grimano*, a Senator of great Authority, spoke as follows.

“ WHEN I consider, illustrious Senators, the immense Favours *Lodovico* has received from our Republic, which in these later Years hath often preserved his Dominions, and on the other Hand his vile Ingratitude, and the Injuries he has done us in order to oblige us to abandon the Defence of *Pisa*, to which he himself had encouraged and incited us, I don’t in the least doubt but that it is the general Sentiment of this illustrious Body, that we ought to take a signal Revenge. For what Infamy can be greater than to be passive under Affronts, which would render us contemptible in the Eyes of all the World. We should be thought dege-

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*Grimano's
Speech.*

A. D. degenerated from our glorious Ancestors,
1498. who when provoked but by slight Injuries,
never refused to undergo any Danger to
preserve the Dignity of the *Venetian*
Name. For the Deliberations of Repu-
blics require no mean and private Consi-
derations, or which tend only to Profit,
but it is necessary that they should aspire
to more noble Ends, by which they may
increase their Glory and Reputation, which
are easily lost when they give Occasion to
think that we want Spirit to resent Affronts,
or Courage to revenge them. But these
are both necessary at present, not only for
the Pleasure and Sweetness attending a
just Vengeance, but that the Punishment
of the Offender may serve as an Example
to deter others from giving the like Provo-
cation. In such a Conduct we shall con-
sult both our Honour and Utility, for
generous Resolutions produce Glory and
Profit. By suffering one Inconveniency
many greater are often prevented, and
one short Trouble may free us from a
Train of others. But if we consider the
Situation of Affairs in *Italy*, the Disposi-
tion of several Powers to molest us, and
the

the Snares and mischievous Devices of ^{A. D.}
Lodovico Sforza, we must be constrained ^{1498.}
to own that Necessity more than any other
Consideration ought to influence us in
our present Debate. For the Duke of
Milan, incited by his natural Ambition,
and his Hatred to this most excellent
Senate, not only makes it his perpetual
Study to set all *Italy*, with the King of
the *Romans*, and the whole *Germanic*
Body, against us, but has even com-
menced a Treaty with the *Turks* for the
same vile Purpose of annoying us. You
are all sensible that it is through his
Means that we meet with such Difficul-
ties, as almost render us incapable of sup-
porting the *Pisans*, or prosecuting the
War in the *Casentino*, which if continued
becomes dangerous, and if abandoned
shameful, unless we can find some other
Way to retrieve our sinking Reputation,
the Decay of which would elate the
Spirits, and gratify the Malice of those
who seek our Ruin. All the World
knows how much easier it is to depress
such as appear to be on the Decline, than
those who, by their exalted Station, seem
placed

A. D. placed above the Reach of Envy. You
^{1498.} would soon be convinced of this Truth,
illustrious Senators, by seeing the Peace
of this flourishing State destroyed, and
the Noise of War and Tumults would at
this Instant alarm our Fears, were not
Lodovico kept in suspense by his Appre-
hensions of our joining with the *French*.
But should we refuse their Offers, these
Apprehensions would soon be at an End:
For without our Assistance the King
would not undertake this Expedition, and
then possibly by the Artifices of *Lodovico*,
or the Corruption of the *French* Ministry,
he might be drawn into a Composition
with the Duke of *Milan* to our Cost and
Damage. In this Case therefore if we
have the Good of the Republic at Heart,
and are zealous to maintain its antient
Dignity and Glory, we must resolve with
one Consent to join with *France*, and the
more heartily as it appears to be the best
Expedient for avoiding the Danger that
threatens us. And I think we ought to
congratulate ourselves on the good Fortune
of this State, which has inclined a mighty
King voluntarily to intreat from us what

our

our Interest and Safety should move us to implore from him ; and all this on such honourable Conditions, and enforced with such advantageous Offers, as may render this illustrious Body capable of forming hereafter some greater and nobler Designs. Nor have we any Reason to doubt of Success, for where can *Lodovico* seek an Asylum, whither can he fly for Refuge, when hunted and surrounded by two such mighty Powers ? The only Objection of which I am aware is, the Danger that may be imagined to threaten our Republic from the Possession of *Milan* by the *French*. But even this Objection will lose much of its Force, if it be considered that in such a Posture of Affairs, many Circumstances would appear in our Favour, which are now visibly against us. For it is not to be doubted but such an Increase of Power in the *French* would alarm all *Italy*, and provoke the Resentments of the King of the *Romans* and the *Germanic* Body, who will by no means suffer so noble a Member of the Empire to become a Province to *France*. The Consequence of this must be, that those very States which now fill us

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us with Apprehensions of their confederating with the Duke of *Milan* against us, would then, for their own Interest, appear in our Defence. And such is the universal Reputation of our Power, so current the Fame of our Riches, and, what is still more respectable, such is the confirmed Opinion of our Union and Constancy in the Preservation of our Dominions, illustrated by so many Examples, that the King of *France* will not venture to attack us, but in Conjunction with other Powers, and especially the King of the *Romans*; a Confederacy so ill suited, and attended with so many Difficulties, that it would be vain for him to expect it, or for us to fear it. Nor is it to be thought that the Peace which he is now endeavouring to settle with his Neighbours, will be parmanent; for, alas! Envy, Umbrage, and Fears of his Increase of Power, will awaken and reanimate all those who had before found Matter for Dispute or Emulation. It is a general Observation that the *French* are more resolute in acquiring than prudent in preserving, and how soon they become hateful

hateful to their new Subjects by their insolent Behaviour. For which Reason, should they conquer *Milan*, they will be rather under a Necessity of attending to its Preservation, than find Leisure to enter on other Projects. For a new Conquest, not well settled, or imprudently governed, rather diminishes than increases the Power of the Conqueror. And have we not a recent and convincing Proof of this Truth in the Management of the late King ? How did he see all the Love and Fondness of the *Neapolitans*, who had invited his Presence, and received him with open Arms, all of a sudden converted into Extremity of Hatred and Aversion ! The Danger therefore to be apprehended from a *French* Victory in Time to come, is not of such a Nature, that to avoid it we should chuse to remain in present and certain Danger. To refuse, for the sake of future and uncertain Losses, so rich and commodious a Part of the *Milanese*, could be imputed only to a Want of Resolution, or a kind of Pusillanimity, despicable in private Life, but much more in a Republic, which, excepting the *Roman*, is

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A. D. ^{1498.} is the most glorious and powerful that ever existed on Earth. Opportunities like this are rare and transient, and it is the Part of Prudence and a generous Resolution to lay Hold of them, as on the contrary it would be Folly and Meanness of Spirit to reject them. Wisdom that is over curious, and too nicely ponders Events, is often blameable ; for human Affairs are so subject to Vicissitudes, that the Success of an Enterprize rarely answers the End of the wisest Projectors ; and that Person who dares not embrace a present Good for fear of a dubious and distant Evil, will in vain repent his lost Opportunity of acquiring Wealth and Glory, out of Fear of an approaching Danger, which he found afterwards vanished. These are the Reasons which induce me to give my Opinion for entering into an Alliance against the Duke of *Milan*. It is, in my Judgment, highly conducive to our present Safety and Dignity, and is attended with such an Acquisition as at any other Time we should spare neither Trouble nor Expence to obtain ; not only for the Importance of

the

the Thing itself, but as it opens a Door ^{A. D.} ~~1498.~~ for extending our Views, and making further Acquisitions, to the wonderful Augmentatian of the Glory and Empire of this most powerful Republic."

THIS Speech was heard with great Attention, and seemed in general to be favourable received. There were many among the Senators that applauded the Speaker's Greatness of Mind, and his zealous Concern for the Honour and Interest of his Country. But *Marchione Trevisano* thus replied :

" It is not denied, most prudent Senators, but that the Provocations given to our Republic by *Lodovico* are exceeding great and very offensive to our Dignity ; yet the greater they are, and the more they excite our Indignation, so much the more it becomes our Prudence to moderate our just Resentment with Maturity of Judgment, and with Considerations adapted to the present Welfare of the Republic. The more our Anger or any other Passion is kindled, the more com-

A. D. mendable is it to know how to overcome
1498. ourselves, and the greater and juster the Provocation that excites our Resentment, the greater ought to be the Praise. It is therefore the Business of this Senate, so renowned for its Wisdom, and which glories in the Name it has lately acquired of *Deliverer of Italy from the French Bondage*, maturely to consider with what Reproaches she might justly be charged if the *French* by her Means should be tempted to return. We should do well to reflect on the Danger to which we should lie constantly exposed, whenever that Nation becomes Master of the Dutchy of *Milan*. Recal to Memory the Consternation we were in when *Charles* made the Conquest of *Naples*. We never thought ourselves secure till we had formed a Confederacy of almost all the Christian Powers against him. But what a Disparity between one Danger and the other ! That King, in a manner destitute of every Royal Virtue, was but a weak Prince, and almost ridiculous ; and the Kingdom of *Naples* so far Distant from *France*, that the Supplies which he was continually

continually obliged to send thither divided his Forces, and by that means his Conquest rather weakened than increased his Power; and that Acquisition being so near the Dominions of the Pope and *Spain*, made them both his Enemies. But now we must be sensible that the first proceeds on other Views, and the other, tired with the Affairs of *Italy*, is determined to stand neuter in the present Juncture. On the other Side, the King now reigning is endowed with such natural Parts, that he is rather to be dreaded than despised, and the State of *Milan* is so nigh the Kingdom of *France*, that it is capable of receiving continual Supplies, so as to leaye us no Probability of expelling him without putting all *Europe* in Motion. Hence it appears that as we are neareſt to so formidable a Power, we must be obliged to be at a vast Expence in time of Peace, and if a War should happen, be greatly distressed. I must own my Astonishment at what was advanced by the venerable Person who spoke last. He seems to be under no Apprehension from a King of *France* Duke of *Milan*, and,

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A. D. on the other hand, alarms us with the
^{1498.} Name of *Lodovico Sforza*, a petty Prince
in Comparison, and much inferior to us
in Strength, and who, thro' his natural
Timidity and Avarice, has always rendered
his Undertakings abortive. He seemed
apprehensive of the Assistance that *Lodo-
vico* might receive from others; as if it
were easy to form a Union among Powers
in such a Variety of Views, Inclinations,
and Circumstances, or as if there were not
much more Reason to dread one great
Power collected within itself, and exerting
its whole Force, than the Power of many
lesser Potentates, who having different
Views, and acting from different Motives,
must of Consequence disagree in their Ope-
rations. He assured himself of finding in
those who, for various Reasons, wished
our Downfal, that Prudence for overcom-
ing those Resentments and covetous De-
sires, which we cannot find in ourselvess
for restraining those ambitious Projects,
I know not what Grounds we have
to expect that the King of the *Romans*
and the *Germanic* Body will awake out
of their Lethargy, and resume their
antient

antient Hatred and Jealousy of *France*, A. D.
on account of the Dutchy of *Milan*; ^{1498.}
but rather wish they may not take their
Revenge upon us, who have so much in-
creased our Dominions with the Territories
wrested from the House of *Austria*, and
from the Empire. Nor can I conceive
why the King of the *Romans* should sooner
join with our Republic against *France*,
than with *France* against us. On the
contrary it is more likely that those *Barba-*
rians, eternal Enemies to the *Italians*,
should enter into closer Bands of Union,
with a View to make us fall an easy Prey
to their unbounded Ambition. And they
may reasonably expect an easier Victory
when thus united with one another against
us than, one of them can hope in con-
junction with us against the other. But
I see no Reason why we should at all
covet an Alliance with the King of the
Romans, when we consider his Conduct
in our late Confederacy with him, and
his Operations in *Italy*. *Lodovico* has
injured us grievously, I own it; but it
can never be Prudence to expose our own
State to a dangerous War merely out of

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Revenge ; nor will it be shameful to wait for proper Opportunities, which cannot fail of offering themselves sooner or later ; on the contrary it would be highly blameable to shew our Resentment before we can safely strike the Blow. A Government must expect to be treated with Scorn, when public Losses are known to be the Consequence of rash and indiscreet Resolutions. But this will be the Case if we follow the Advice given, for it will not be thought that we have entered into the Alliance recommended for the Sake of the common Safety, but every one will judge that we have been influenced by the Desire of acquiring *Cremona* ; and then it will be a common Question, What is become of the antient Prudence, Gravity and Wisdom of the *Venetian* Senate ? And indeed all the World may justly cry out against us for being ourselves guilty of that Rashness and Imprudence we have so much condemned in *Lodovico* ; I mean inviting the *French* King into *Italy*. The Advantage of our being Masters of *Cremona* would, I admit, be very

very considerable on account of its Situation and Strength, which renders it in many Respects very commodious to our State. But then we ought to consider whether putting the King of *France* in Possession of the Dutchy of *Milan* does not vastly overballance this Conveniency. I doubt not but upon mature Reflection we shall be ready to conclude that it is more for our Interest, as well as our Grandeur and Reputation, to be, as we now are, the chief and most absolute Power in *Italy*, than to have, in the Heart of this Country, and on our Borders, a Prince infinitely superior to our Republic. We have been in times past sometimes in Amity, at other times at Enmity with *Lodovico*; and this is no more than what may happen continually. The Difficulties concerning *Pisa* are not so perplexing but that some Way of Accommodation may be found; nor are they of that Consequence as to make us endanger the State by precipitate Measures. But we shall never want Occasions to quarrel with the *French* when they become our Neighbours, from the natural

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Antipathy of the *Italians* to all *Barbarians*, from the Pride of the *French*, from that Hatred which Monarchs always bear to Republics, and from the Ambition that is constantly moving the more powerful to oppress the weaker. For these Reasons I am not at all allured with the King's Offer of *Cremona*. On the contrary I rather dread the Issue, as it will give him a Pretence to attack us ; for which Purpose he will be constantly sollicited by the *Milanese*, who can never be easy at the Alienation of *Cremona* from their Dutchy ; not to mention that the *Germans*, and King of the *Romans* will be highly offend-ed, for both *Cremona* and the *Ghiaradadda* are Members of the Empire. It is not therefore our Interest with new Conquests to create every Day new Enemies, and to raise Jealousies in our Neighbours, the Consequence of which will be, that we must either reduce them all under our Dominion, or expect to be beaten by them all in their Turn ; and which of the two is most likely to happen let any one judge who is not resolved to deceive himself. The Wisdom and Caution of this

this Senate have ever been admired and talked of in every Corner of *Italy*, and all the World over. I trust it will suffer no Disgrace or Diminition at this time from any rash and dangerous Resolution. To give way to Revenge against one's own Interest is Weakness, to be under a greater Concern for small than for great Dangers is Imprudence; both which being directly opposite to the Wisdom and Gravity of this illustrious Body, I persuade myself that your Resolution on this Head will be calm and circumspect, as it usually is on the like Occasions."

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THIS Opinion, tho' supported with ^{The first} so many cogent Reasons, and seconded by the gravest and most prudent Senators, could not prevail. The contrary Party carried the Question, in Gratification both of their Revenge and Ambition, two Passions that often lead us astray. The Hatred that most of the Senate had conceived against *Lodovico* was excessive and knew no Bounds,

^{Opinion}
^{prevails.}

A. D. ^{1498.} Bounds*, any more than the longing Desire of annexing *Cremona*, with the Country about it, and all the *Ghiaradadda* to the *Venetian* Dominion; an Acquisition indeed of no small Value, for it yielded a yearly Revenue of One Hundred Thousand Ducats, but of still greater Importance, as it took in almost the whole Course of the River *Oglio*, and extended their Dominions to the Bank of the *Po*, and along the River *Adda* within Fifteen Miles of the City of *Milan*, and brought them nearer to the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza*; an Increase of Territory, that gave Reason for Hopes that whenever the King of *France* should be obliged to employ his main Strength on the other Side of the *Alps* against *Spain* or the Empire, they might have a fair Opportunity of seizing on the Dutchy of *Milan*;

* In order to exasperate the People against *Ludovico*, the common Talk at *Venice* was, that it was better to make an Alliance with *France* than with a Traitor, who underhand was trying to make a private Treaty with the King against them, and in order to distress them was united with *Florence*, and kept Correspondence with the *French*.

Milan; an Event they imagined at no great Distance, both from the natural Levity of the *French*, who knew better how to conquer than to keep, and from the Constitution of a Republic, which is perpetually the same, whereas in Kingdoms, by the Death of Sovereigns, Counsels and Measures of Government often suffer Alterations. They also considered the Difficulties the *French* would find to live in Friendship and good Harmony with their new Subjects on account of the Difference of their Customs and Manners from those of the *Italians*.

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THE Question then was carried by *Venetians* a great Majority for entering into a Con-^{sign a} federacy with *France*, and Orders were ^{Treaty} sent to the Ambassadors of the Republic ^{with} *France*. at the *French* Court to conclude a Treaty on the Terms proposed, provided no Mention was made of the Affairs of *Pisa*.

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THIS Exception gave the King a great deal of Uneasiness, as he expected by the Deposite to unite both *Florentines* and *Venetians* in his Interest ; and he was also displeased to hear that the *Venetians* were negotiating at *Ferrara* on Means for withdrawing their Troops from *Pisa*, for he expected to have been censured on that Occasion, and took it ill that, in order to get the better Terms for themselves, they should leave the *Florentines* in perfect Amity with *Lodovico*, which could not fail of rendering his Enterprise on *Milan* more difficult ; and as the Conquest of that Dutchy was to be beneficial to the *Venetians*, he began to suspect they were not in earnest, and to fear that he should receive no Assistance either from them, or from the *Florentines*. As he was not willing therefore to continue in a State of Suspense, and resented the Mistrust of his Honour in the Deposit of *Pisa*, he applied himself seriously to put a finishing Hand to the Peace he was negotiating with the King of the *Romans*, by which, whilst one of them attacked *Lodovico Sforza*,

Sforza, the other might, if he pleased, fall upon the Venetians.

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PURSUANT to this Agreement the King ordered his Ministers to acquaint the Venetian Ambassadors, that he was determined to come into no Treaty with their Masters before the Deposit of *Pisa* was made; and sending for the Florentine Ministers was pleased to declare, that they might rest secure on his Royal Word that he would never sign a Treaty with the Venetians on any other Terms than those which he had proposed. But, in Opposition to these Assurances, Duke *Valentino*, and the other Agents of the Pope, with the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, and *Trivulzio*, together with all the rest of the *Italians* who were interested in the War, offered to his Consideration so many solid and cogent Reasons, that he thought fit to alter his Resolution. They represented to his Majesty how impolitic it must be to prefer the Friendship of the *Florentines* before that of the *Venetians*, who were by much the more powerful State, and by their Situation lay

A. D. ^{1498.} lay more convenient for distressing the Dutchy of *Milan*. That no Advice could be more pernicious than such as would induce him to deprive himself of their Assistance for fear of disobliging the *Florentines*, who had Work enough upon their Hands, and lay too remote for the Scene of Action, to be of any considerable Service : That such a Step would probably afford an Opportunity for *Lodovico* of effecting a Reconciliation with the *Venetians* at the Price of his relinquishing the *Florentines*, who were the Occasion of all the Difference between them, and, what is more, of entering into a close Alliance with them ; and what Obstacles and Difficulties might arise from such a Conjunction has been demonstrated by late Experience. In the League that was formed against *Charles*, the Names indeed of mighty Kings were inserted, but no other Forces than those of *Lodovico* and the *Venetians* were employed in retaking *Novara*, and preserving the Dutchy of *Milan* against the Power of *France*. They did not forget to remind him how Dangerous and fallacious it might prove to rely on the Faith

Faith and Friendship of *Maximilian*,
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who was for ever entering upon great
Projects, without Prudence to conceal,
or Power to execute them. But should
it happen that Fortune proved favourable
to his Designs, the King would
do well to consider the Consequence
of increasing the Power of an inveterate
and eternal Enemy to the Crown of
France. These Reasons were of such
Weight with the King, that, without
mentioning a Word more of *Pisa*, he
entered into a Confederacy with the *Ve-*
netians.

By this Treaty is was agreed that Articles of
while the King with a powerful Army entered the Milanese, the Venetians should
do the same from their Frontiers : That
as soon as the whole Dutchy should fall
a Conquest to their united Arms, *Gremona* with all the *Ghiaradadda*, excepting
a Space of about Eighty Feet along the
River *Adda*, should be put into the
Possession of the Venetians, the rest of
the Dutchy remaining to the King: That
for Security of this Acquisition to *France*,

the

A. D. 1498. the *Venetians* should stand obliged to maintain and keep in Readiness a certain Number of Horse and Foot during a limited Time ; the King on his Part engaging to act in the same manner with respect to *Cremona*, and all the Places belonging to the *Venetians* in *Lombardy*, as far as the Marshes of *Venice*.

Treaty
kept a Se-
cret. THESE Articles were kept so very secret, that *Lodovico* did not come to the Knowledge of them for several Months ; all which Time he was doubtful whether they contained any more than a defensive Alliance, as the Parties gave out, or offensive with Regard to him. The whole Affair indeed was so dexterously managed, that even the Pope, who was in such Confidence with the King, could not for a long Time inform himself of the Particulars. As soon as the Treaty was concluded, the King, avoiding any Mention of *Pisa*, proposed to the *Florentines* Terms quite different from the former ; and this mortifying Treatment, added to the Vexations they received from the *Venetians*, put them under the Necessity of

of espousing the Party of the Duke of *Milan*, whose Forces had done them signal Service in the *Casentino*. *A. D.*
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THE Venetian Troops in the *Casentino* were continually harrassed by the Peasants as well as by the Soldiers; and after struggling under the Want of Privisions, and especially of Forage, in that hilly Country, were at length obliged to contract their Quarters to *Bibbiena* and the adjacent Villages, yet still kept Possession of the Passes through which they might receive Succours, or retire in Safety when too much pressed. *Carlo Orsini*, with his Men at Arms and a Hundred Foot, was posted at the Pass of *Montalone*, and lower down *Alviano* guarded *Vernia*. On the other Hand *Pagolo Vitelli* proceeding with his usual Caution, after he had reduced the Enemy to so narrow a Compass, attempted to dispossess them of these Passes, that their whole Strength being confined within *Bibbiena*, and surrounded by Enemies and Mountains, they might with Ease be subdued, or dwindle away, being

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already very much diminished *. For besides small Parties that had been taken marauding about the Mountains, Multitudes of their Foot had deserted, and for Want of Provisions and Forage above Fifteen Hundred of their Horse had gone off at different Times, and been severely handled and harrassed by the Mountaineers in their Retreat. *Carlo Orsini* was at last obliged to abandon the Pass of *Montalone*, and not without some Danger ; for a Party of *Florentines*, with a Number of Peasants, who knew his Necessity, and expected such an Event, attacked him on the Road. But as he had the Precaution to secure some Defiles towards *Bibbiena*, he cut his Way through with the Loss only of his heavy Baggage, and did considerable Execution upon the Enemy, who pursued him in Disorder. This Example of *Orsini* was followed by the Commanders of the Garrisons of *Vernia* and *Chiusi*.

THE

* The Want of Provisions had obliged them to send off Five Hundred Horse, which were intercepted by the Enemy ; as were also Four Hundred Foot, and Two Hundred Stradiotti, with the Venetian Proveditor's Secretary, on a Convoy of Money and Provisions to *Bibbiena*. *Lembo*.

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THE Duke of *Urbino*, *Alviano*, *Astorre*
Baglione, *Piero Marcello* the *Venetian*
Proveditor, and *Giuliano de' Medici*,
with Sixty Horse and Seven Hundred
Foot, now found themselves all cooped
up in *Bibbiena*, that being the only Town
remaining in their Possession, which they
were resolved to defend in Hopes of re-
ceiving Relief from *Venice*. The Senate
indeed was not wanting to make Prepara-
tions for that Purpose, for they thought it
dishonourable to the *Venetian* Arms to be
forced out of the *Casentino*, and by main-
taining a War in the Enemy's Country
expected better Terms of Peace. To this
End they sent pressing Orders to Count
Pitigliano, who was assembling some
Troops at *Ravenna*, to be expeditious,
since they had received repeated Advices
from the Duke of *Urbino* and other
Hands at *Bibbiena*, that they began to
want Provisions, and, unless speedily
relieved, should be obliged to capitulate.
The Duke of *Milan* and his Commanders
would have these Succours rendered use-
less by the Conquest of *Bibbiena*, and for

A. D. that End desired a Reinforcement of Four
^{1498.} Thousand Infantry. But for many Reasons such an Enterprise was judged impracticable; such as the Bitterness of the Season in that wild and rugged Country, which obstructed the Operations of War, and created other Inconveniences. Besides, the *Florentines* were in no Condition to make such an Augmentation, being quite disheartened at the vast and growing Expence of this vexatious War, and moreover weakened by the Divisions which began to take Head in their turbulent City.

Divisions
in Florence THE Partisans of *Pagolo Vitelli* in *Florence* had formed themselves into a Body, in opposition to those Citizens who had espoused the Party of Count *Rinuccio*, an old and trusty General of the Republic; and allied to several Persons of the first Rank. The Defeat of *San Regolo*, where he had the Misfortune to command, was the Cause of *Vitelli's* Promotion above him. The Count, who could not well brook Subordination, being sent with his Regiment into the *Casentino*, was not very readily

readily disposed to execute what he knew
would only add to his Adversary's Reputation. This Misunderstanding between
the two Generals was exasperated by
Pagolo's Temper and Conduct, for he was
profuse of the public Money among his
Troops, for ever dissatisfied with the *Florentine* Commissaries, and often, both in
Council and in the Field, seemed to arro-
gate to himself more Authority than be-
came his Station. He had very lately,
without acquainting the Government,
granted a Pass to the Duke of *Urbino*,
who was sick, for retiring out of the
*Casentino**; and under Protection of the
same Pass, *Giuliano de' Medici* accom-
panied him; to the great Mortification
of the *Florentines*, who imagined that if
the Duke had been drove to Straits, and
refused a Pass, he would willingly have
given up *Bibbiena* for the Benefit of re-
turning into his own Dominions for the
Recovery of his Health. The Adversaries
of *Pagolo* highly exclaimed at the Indul-
gence

* *Bembo*, says the Duke had been denied a Physician
before he solicited a Pass.

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gence shown to *Giuliano de' Medici*, their fellow Citizen, who after being declared a Rebel, had marched in open Arms against his Country. This Conduct of the General had greatly lessened him in the Esteem of the Government, and his Demands were not so readily granted. He had also lost his Popularity by his Proceedings in the *Casentino*, where what Advantages had been gotten were more owing to the Peasants than to the Soldiery; and also, because depending on his Valour, they had long since expected he would have put an End to the War in those Parts, attributing, as usual with the Populace, to his Want of good Will, what was in Reality owing to the Place of Action, the Season, and Want of Provisions. As the Reinforcement of Four Thousand Men which had been demanded did not arrive, Count *Pitigliano* had Time to advance as far as *Elci*, a Castle belonging to the Duke of *Urbino* on the Borders of the *Florentines*, where he took a Review of all the Forces there assembled, with an Intent to pass the *Appennines*, for which they were properly

perly chosen and qualified with respect to
that difficult Country, being mostly Foot,
and Men at Arms lightly armed ; and
this was the last Effort made by the *Vene-*
tians in the *Casentino*.

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PAGOLO VITELLI, leaving a sufficient *Vitelli*
Number of Troops to block up *Bibbiena*, ^{marches} *against the*
and to secure some important Passes, *Venetians*.
marched with the rest to the Pieve of
San Stefano, a Village belonging to the
Florentines at the Foot of a high Moun-
tain, in order to oppose the Enemy,
whose Way lay down the Hill. But Count
Pitigliano, who saw before him Moun-
tains of Snow, and at the Foot of them
expected a powerful Opposition, in narrow
Defiles, which would have rendered his
advancing dangerous even in a Summer's
Day, would not attempt the Passage, tho'
pressed by the *Venetians*, as he used to
say, with provoking rather than encou-
raging Orders. He had several Plans
laid before him for making Diversions,
and was advised to march into the *Valdi-*
bagno, where the *Florentines* had lost

A. D. some Towns; but he would not alter his
1498. Resolution.

Steps to-
wards a
Peace.

BUT the more coolly the War was prosecuted, the more ardent was the Desire of a Peace on both Sides. As for *Lodovico*, he sincerely wished a Reconciliation of the Parties, in hopes that an Accommodation would render the *Venetians* less fond of seeing the *French* in *Italy*; and he also flattered himself that they would abate of their Indignation, when they were convinced of his Sincerity by his taking so much Pains to bring about a Peace. With this View he applied himself in earnest to *Ercole d' Este*, his Father-in-Law, intreating him that in a gentle, but by no means threatening Manner, he would address himself to the *Florentines*, (who knew of his Application, and began to suspect him) and dispose them to comply in some measure with the Desire of the *Venetians* in relation to a Peace; because if an Agreement could not be concluded, he should be constrained to withdraw all, or greatest Part of his Forces from *Tuscany*. This Affair

was

was in Agitation several Months at *Ferrara*, where new Difficulties still arising, ^{A. D.}
^{1498.} at last *Ercole* was desired to come to *Venice* to facilitate the Matter. The Duke objected to this, but much greater Opposition was made at *Florence*, where it was known that the *Venetians* chose to have *Ercole* the sole Umpire of their Disputes. But *Lodovico* was so pressing in his Sollicitations that at last the Duke consented to go, and the *Florentines* sent to *Venice* *Giovanni Battista Ridolfo*, and *Pagolo Antonio Soderini*, two Persons of the first Rank and Character in their Republic.

THE first Point that came under Debate was, Whether *Ercole* was to arbitrate and put an End to all Disputes, or was only to act as Mediator between the Parties by endeavouring to compose their Differences, and for that End reducing the principal Articles in Dispute into a narrow Compass, as he had done some Time before at *Ferrara**. The *Florentines*,

* The Duke three Days after his Arrival at *Venice* acquainted the Senate that he had his Sentence in Writing, which he would deliver them; and that if they did not like

A. D. ^{1498.} tines were for having him act in this last Capacity, as Mediator only, being sensible that *Ercole* was more disposed to favour the *Venetians*, than their Republic ; and that if he was to pass his Judgment in *Venice*, he would in a manner be under a Necessity of gratifying that Senate ; and that tho' he should be otherwise inclined, yet he would be biassed by the Duke of *Milan*, who at that time was seeking Occasion to lay the *Venetians* under some Obligation to himself. And tho' many Difficulties had been remoyed at *Ferrara*, there still remained some delicate Points to be adjusted ; and even what was settled might perhaps be altered if left to his sole Arbitration. On the other Hand the *Venetians* were determined, if the Duke was not Umpire, to come into no Terms whatever ; not so much because they reposed a Confidence in the Duke, as for other special Reasons. The People in general were heartily tired of a War, which

like it, they might alter it to their Mind. *Giorgio Cornaro* approved of this Offer, but the rest rejected it as injurious to their Honour. The *Florentines* had some Intimation of this, and grew jealous of the Duke, *Eembo*.

which was vastly expensive, without ^{A. D.}
Hopes of Recompence; but the young ^{1498.}
and high-spirited among the Senators
were resolved to hearken to no Peace, but
on Condition that the Liberties of the
Pisans should be preserved, and that they
should be put in Possession of those
Places in their Territory which they held
when the Republic received them under ^{Debates}
her Protection. They used many Argu-
ments in support of this Resolution, espe-
cially their own Decree for maintaining
the Liberty of the *Pisans*, which obliged
them in Honour and Conscience not to
let them fall a Sacrifice. Others, tho' less
scrupulous on that Head, were yet im-
moderate in their Demands for the Re-
imbursement of the Expences which the
Republic had incurred in the Defence of
Pisa. But the Senators of the soundest
Judgment and greatest Authority, were
of a different Sentiment. They were
grown weary of a tedious and expensive
War, despaired of preserving *Bibiena*, and
found it very difficult to send Succours to
Pisa, or make any Diversions to the Pur-
pose, and the *Florentines* much stronger
than

A. D. than they had imagined. They considered
1498. further, that tho' a War against the Duke
of *Milan* was reckoned an easy Task,
yet the King of *France* had not as yet
come to an Agreement with the King of
the *Romans*; and many other Accidents
might happen to retard his Motions. That
tho' he should surmount all his present
Difficulties, and declare War, yet War is
still subject to Casualties, and many great
and unforeseen Dangers might arise in the
Prosecution. But what gave them most
Concern, and mightily alarmed their
Fears, was the Report of the vast Pre-
parations making by *Bajazet*, both by
Sea and Land, for invading their Domi-
nions in *Greece*. On this Consideration
they thought it of the last Importance to
make an End of this War, and not for
the Sake of adhering too pertinaciously
to the Faith of a political Promise con-
tinue to labour under a Load of Calamities.
Since the resuming of the Treaty of
Ferrara these last mentioned prudent
Senators, foreseeing it would be necessary
to give up some Points, which might be
strongly controverted, had very wisely
prevailed

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prevailed with the Council of the *Pregadi* to intrust the Council of *Ten* with full Power and ample Authority to remove all Difficulties on this Head. This Council of *Ten* consisted of chosen Senators of singular Gravity and Prudence, and mostly of the pacific Strain, who were for an Accommodation with the *Florentines*. But now since the Matter was to receive its full Determination at *Venice*, they despaired of bringing the Council of the *Pregadi* to agree to the Articles that had been drawn up at *Ferrara*; and on the other hand they were willing to avoid the Censure of the Public, which they were sure to incur by determining the Affair themselves. They resolved therefore that the whole should be left to the Arbitration of the Duke of *Ferrara*, with an Intent that all the Blame of the Decision might be thrown on the Umpire, promising themselves that a Judgment pronounced by a Person to whom both Parties had referred the Controversy, would be sooner ratified than what might be concluded in a Treaty between the contending Powers. The Result was, that, after some Days spent

A. D. spent in Disputes, the Duke of *Milan*
1498. threatening the *Florentines* immediately to
recal his Troops from *Tuscany*, they
thought it best to hesitate no longer, but
submitted to an Arbitration, and both
Duke of Parties invested the Duke with an absolute
Ferrara Authority, for the Space of Eight Days,
made Um-pire. to decide and put an End to all their
Differences. *Ercole*, after much Discus-sion, and mature Deliberation, on the
6th of April gave his Sentence and De-
His Deter-mination, by which it was decreed that
mination. in Eight Days next ensuing all Hostilities
should cease between the *Florentines* and
the *Venetians*: That on St. Mark's Day
next at farthest, the Allies of both the
Pisans and the *Florentines* should with-
draw their Troops out of *Tuscany* into
their own Territories; and particularly
that the *Venetians* should recal all their
Forces from *Pisa* and its Territory, and
evacuate *Bibbiena*, with all other Places
taken from the *Florentines*; who on their
part were to grant a full Amnesty to the
Inhabitants of *Bibbiena* for all Offences:
That in Consideration of the Charges
incurred by the *Venetians*, which they
estimated

estimated at no less than Eight Hundred Thousand Ducats, the *Florentines* should pay them Fifteen Thousand Ducats yearly for the Term of Twelve Years: That the *Pisans* should have full Power and free Liberty to exercise any Trade or Calling both by Land and Sea: That they should continue in Possession of the Castles of *Pisa* and other Places which they held at the Time of passing this Decision, and might garrison them with *Pisans*, or Foreigners, provided they were not of any State suspected by the *Florentines*: That these Garrisons should be paid out of the Taxes raised by the *Florentines* on the *Pisans*; but that no larger Sums should be levied, nor more standing Troops maintained, than was practised before the Rebellion: That the *Pisans* should be permitted to demolish all the Castles and fortified Places in their Territory, which they had taken from the *Florentines* while they were under the Protection of the *Venetians*: That in *Pisa* the Chief Justice in Civil Cases should be a Foreigner, elected by the *Pisans*

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Articles
concerning
the *Pisans*.

A. D. Pisans themselves out of a Country not
1498. obnoxious to the Florentines ; and that a Justice commissioned by the Florentines might have Power to receive Appeals, but not in criminal Cases where Death, Banishment or Confiscation were concerned, without the Presence of an Assistant Justice or Assessor, commissioned by Ercole or his Successors, to be elected by him or them out of Five Civilians of the Dutchy of Ferrara nominated by the Pisans : That all Goods moveable and immoveable should be restored on both Sides, but without any Allowance for Interest. In all other Cases the Florentines might assert their Rights in the Pisan, and the Pisans were to engage for the future not to take up Arms against the Florentines on any Account whatsoever.

As soon as this Decree or Sentence of the Duke was published in Venice the whole Town was in an Uproar, and both the Noblesse and the Plebeians were full of nothing but Invectives against Ercole, and

and the chief Managers of the Treaty*. A. D
 They exclaimed at the Indignity and Re-
 proach cast upon the Republic, for aban-^{1499.}
 doning the *Pisans* after so solemn ^{Venetians} an-
 Engagement to defend them. They com-^{discon-}
 plained also that the Sums settled for the
 Reimbursement of their Expences bore no
 Proportion to their just Demand.

BUT the Disappointment and Distress
 of the *Pisan* Ambassadors, and the Re-
 sentment of that People were inexpressible.
 They had been all this Time artfully
 made to expect that the Liberty of their
 Country should be preserved, and not
 only their whole Territory restored,
 but that the important Port of *Livorno*
 would probably be assigned them; whereas
 this inauspicious Decree not only extin-
 guished all future Expectations, but de-
 prived them of what little they had left
 valuable. They filled *Venice* with loud
 Complaints of the Injustice done them,

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* The *Venetians* were so exasperated by this determi-
 nation, that they hooted the Duke whenever he appeared,
 and upbraided him with a Breach of Trust. So hard was
 it to satisfy all Parties, that not one of the three concerned
 in this Decision was pleased. *Bembo.*

A. D. and recounted to every one they met the
1499. advantageous Offers they had refused from
Princes and States, relying on the Faith
of the *Venetians*: That they had often
rejected better Terms offered them by the
Florentines themselves; and that they were
betrayed and made a Sacrifice by those in
whom they had reposed an entire Con-
fidence; that they were left destitute,
without any Provision made for their
Safety, except in outward Show, and
vain Pretence. For what Security could
they expect for their Liberties when the
Florentines shall have constituted Magi-
strates, modelled the Government after
their own Mind, and engrossed all the
Commerce into the Hands of their own
Merchants? Or what should hinder that,
when the Peasantry, which had been the
Sinews of their Defence, should be re-
turned to their Labour, they might not
make themselves absolute Masters of the
Lives and Fortunes of the Citizens, espe-
cially as the Guard of the City Gates is
to be in their Hands? And of what Use
is it with regard to their Safety, to have
the Forts in their Possession, where the
Garrisons

A. D.

1499.

Garrisons are to be paid by the *Florentines*, especially as it was not permitted them to keep larger Garrisons in so critical a Juncture than were kept in Times of profound Peace? The Article of Indemnity was a meer Formality; for of what Use would it be to them not to pay the Interest, when the Merchandise and Moveables they had seized at the Time of the Révolution amounted to more than the Value of all their present Effects, which on Examination would be declared forfeited, and then seized, and not being found sufficient to answer the Demand, the Owner becomes liable to be arrested and hurried to a Goal.

SOME eminent Persons of the *Venetian* Senate, of a pacific Temper, who were willing to see an End of all Discontents and Murmurings, tho' the Eight Days of the Compromise were elapsed, induced *Ercole*, who thought himself in Danger from the incensed Populace, to add an explanatory Supplement to his Decree, which he did without the Knowledge of the *Florentine* Plenipotentiaries.

X 2

By

A. D. By this he declared that under the Name
1499. of Forts were comprehended the Gates
of the City of *Pisa*, and of all those
Towns that had Citadels; and that a
certain Sum of Money should be allowed
the Pisans out of the Revenues of their
State for the Payment of the Garrisons,
Governors, and Assessors: That the Ec-
clesiastical State, with those of *Mantoua*,
Ferrara, and *Bologna* should be deemed
not obnoxious: As to the Restitution of
Moveables, what had passed on that
Account should be burried in Oblivion:
That the *Pisans* should themselves nomi-
nate a Judge Assessor from the Places
not obnoxious; and that the *Florentine*
Chief Justice should not pronounce Sen-
tence on any criminal Case, tho' never so
trivial, without the Assessor: That the
Pisans were to be well used by the *Flo-*
rentines, and treated with that Distinction
which is usually paid to Citizens of the
other noble Towns in *Italy*; and that they
should not be burthened with new
Taxes.

THOSE

THOSE that procured this Explanation did not care whether it took Effect or not ; it was purely intended to allay the Heats occasioned by the Clamours of the *Pisan* Ambassadors ; and was drawn in such Terms, and consisted of such Limitations and Restrictions as the Authors thought most proper to justify themselves in the Council of the Pregadi, by making it appear, that if they had not obtained an entire Liberty for the *Pisans*, they had at least provided for their Safety and Wellbeing. When therefore the Decree with the Explanation came to be laid before the Pregadi, after several Debates, it was resolved that in consideration of the Condition of the present Times, the Difficulties that would attend a Continuation of the Defence of *Pisa*, and above all the formidable Power of the *Turk*, the abovesaid Decree and Explanation should stand unratified by any public Sanction ; but, what is more to the Purpose in all Affairs, they took care to have it executed. For they ordered that all Hostilities should cease after Eight Days,

A. D. and recalled all their Forces from *Tuscany*
1499. at the Time mentioned in the Decree,
many among the Senators wishing *Pisa* in
the Possession of the *Florentines*, rather
than to see it fall into the Hands of *Lodo-
vico*.

WHEN the Decree was brought to *Florence*, there appeared no less Agitation in the Minds of that People than had been at *Venice*: It was thought a mighty Grievance that the *Florentines* should be bound to make good any Part of the Charges their Enemies had incurred for the Defence of Rebels, especially as all that was procured for them was no more than to be Sovereigns in Name, since the Citadels and Fortifications were to be left in the Hands of the *Pisans*. The Administration of Justice in criminal Cases, which was a great Part of the Prerogative, and most necessary for the Preservation of a State, was decreed to be out of their Power, and intrusted in the Hands of Strangers. But after all their Murmuring and Complaints of those and other Grievances, they were at last obliged, by the same

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same Threats which *Lodovico* had before A. D.
used to compel them to agree to an Ar-¹⁴⁹⁹⁻
bitration, to submit, in Hopes that in ^{Yet ratify} process of Time, by good Policy, and it.
treating the *Pisans* with more Humanity,
they might restore their Authority and re-
establish their Affairs, and so ratified the
Decree, but not the Explanation, which
had not yet reached them.

BUT the Fears, Frights, Perplexity,
Indignation and Jealousy of the *Pisans* at ^{Pisans ex-}asperated
this Decree were inexpressible. Enraged ^{at the De-}cree.
at the *Venetians*, and suspecting farther
Treachery from them, they immediately
turned their Forces out of their Forts and
Gates, nor would they permit them to
remain in their City. For many Days it
was debated whether the Decree should
be accepted or rejected. They were
terrified at the Thoughts of their being
abandoned, and left destitute, without
any friendly Power to support them; but
on the other hand their Hatred to the
Florentines was invincible, and they
despaired of being forgiven the Injuries,
Trouble and Expence they had occasioned

X 4

them,

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them, and the Hazard to which they had exposed them of losing their own Liberty. In this Perplexity the Duke of Milan pressed them to submit, offering himself to become a Mediator for their obtaining more advantageous Terms. But the *Pisans* being willing to try whether that Duke retained the same Ambition he formerly had of becoming Master of *Pisa*, and being disposed in that Case freely to come under his Dominion, sent Ambassadors to him to tender their Obedience; but it was to no Purpose. After great Perplexity they came at last to a Resolution to suffer the last Extremity rather than return under the *Florentine* Yoke, to which they were secretly encouraged by the *Genoese*, *Lucchese*, and *Pandolfo Petrucci*. *Lodovico* was so noted for his double Dealing, that the *Florentines* suspected him, tho' he had now in reality relinquished all Designs upon *Pisa*; and indeed Sincerity is never expected from a Person who bears the Character of a Dissembler, and has been once known to circumvent those he had to deal with. The *Florentines* being then deprived of all

all Hopes of recovering *Pisa* by Treaty, *A. D.* ^{1499.} imagined that they had now a very fair Opportunity of reducing it to their Obedience by Force of Arms. For this End they sent Orders to *Vitelli* to return into the *Pisan*, and applied themselves to get in readiness all the Provisions that General required for that Enterprise.

As to the Duke of *Milan*, the Situation of his Affairs seemed to decline every Day. All the Propensity he had shewn to please the *Venetians* in the late Treaty did not in the least remove their Resentment; for they had resolved on his Ruin, as much out of a Spirit of Revenge as from a Prospect of Profit. *Maximilian* did not appear so ready to enter into a War with *France*, as he was in demanding Money of the Duke; and, contrary to his Engagements, prolonged the Truce for the whole ensuing Month of *August*, leaving him to expect no more Advantage from his Succour than he had reaped from his late Diversion. For he entered.

A. D. entered into the League of *Suabia**
1499. against the *Swiss*, who for several Reasons
Maximi-
lian enters
into the
Suabian
League. had been declared Enemies of the Empire. This War was prosecuted with great Animosity and Bloodshed on both Sides; so that *Lodovico* lost all Hopes of Assistance from that Quarter, at least till *Maximilian* should put an End to that War either by Treaty or Conquest. But as that Prince had given him Assurance that he would never make Peace with *France* or *Switzerland* without a Regard to his Security, he found himself under a Necessity of sending him Supplies of Money.

King of
France
prepares
for his
Italian
Expedi-
tion.

THE King of *France* was wise enough to take his Measures from the present Juncture of Affairs, and relying on the Assistance of the Pope and *Venetians*, he rejected the Advice of those of his Council, who on account of his late Inauguration, and the Scarcity of Money, would have persuaded him to defer his

Ex-

* This War of *Maximilian* with the *Swiss* is described by *Arrigo Mutio* and *Nauclero*, and is called *The Grand War*, which cost the Lives of Thirty Thousand Men; but the *Swiss* suffered most.

Expedition against *Milan* to the next Year. *Lewis* flattered himself that the War could not last many Months, and consequently did not require vast Sums. The Preparations therefore were carried on with all Diligence, and Methods were found out to furnish the *Swiss* underhand with a Supply of Money, to enable them to keep *Maximilian* employed.

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Lodovico by this Time being convinced that this dreadful War was approaching, used all his Endeavours to procure the Assistance of some potent State in so imminent a Danger. He found it impossible to pacify the *Venetians*, and the King of *Spain*, tho' often sollicited, unconcerned for his Preservation. In order therefore to lose no Time while he waited the Success of a Negotiation with other Powers, he deputed *Galeazzo Visconti* to *Maximilian* and the *Swiss*, to offer his Mediation for a Peace between them. He had received Information that the Pope had not succeeded in procuring *Carlotta* for his Son *Cæsar Borgia*: For that Princess, either influenced by paternal Love or Au-

Au-

A. D. Authority, or privately admonished by
1499. the King of *France*, who affected to appear zealous for the Match, obstinately refused to marry *Valentino*, but on condition that *Federigo* should at the same Time be established in his lawful Rights of Inheritance, for which that Prince offered to pay an annual Tribute, besides other Advantages to the Crown of *France*. *Lodovico* was not without Hopes that this mortifying Repulse might operate on *Alexander*, and detach him from the French Interest. He therefore thought fit to propose an Alliance with the Pope, in conjunction with *Federigo* and the *Florentines*, engaging that all the confederated Powers should assist his Holiness in reducing the Vicars in *Romagna*, and furnish him with a sufficient Sum of Money to purchase a Sovereignty for his Son. *Alexander* at first seemed to listen to these Proposals; but finding they were groundless, and that he had Reason to expect greater Advantages from the French King, during the turbulent and calamitous Season, which now seemed approaching, when Italy was to be over-spread with foreign Armies,

Armies, renounced all Thoughts of *Car-lotta*, and gave his Consent for the Nuptials of his Son with the Daughter of M. *D'Albret*, a Person of the Blood Royal, in Possession of a large Estate, and not inferior to any Nobleman in the Kingdom of *France*.

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Lodovico, after trying all manner ^{Lodovico} of Ways to reconcile the *Venetians*, finding ^{craves Aid} of the them implacable, thought it necessary, ^{Turk.} by means of proper Persons, and in concert with *Federigo*, to make Application privately to the *Turk*. *Sforza* was well satisfied that if *Bajazet*, who was already making such vast Preparations, should turn his Arms against the *Venetians*, he could not have much to fear from their Alliance with *France*. He also offered the *Florentines* what Assistance they might think necessary for reducing *Pisa*, on condition they would engage to assist him ^{and of the} *Floren-*
tines. with Three Hundred Men at Arms and Two Thousand Foot for the Preservation of his Dominions. On the other hand the *French King* demanded of the *Florentines* a Regiment of Five Hundred Men at

A. D. 1499. at Arms, for a Year's Service, on which Consideration he passed his royal Word Proposals that, after the Reduction of *Milan*, he would assist them with One Thousand ^{of Lewis to the Florentines.} Lances for a Year, and that he would conclude no Treaty with *Lodovico* till they were put in full Possession of *Pisa* and its Territory. He would moreover engage that the Pope and *Venetians* should both move to their Assistance, if they should happen to be invaded before the Dutchy of *Milan* was subdued.

THESE different Proposals kept the *Florentines* in great Suspense, not only on account of the Difficulties that would attend a Resolution on either Side, but with regard to the different Parties in the Republic. As *Lodovico* demanded no Assistance till the War of *Pisa* was brought to a Period, his Succour was much surer, and more ready at Hand, than what was offered by *France*, which indeed might be reckoned of no Consequence; for as the *Pisans* were unsupported, they expected to reduce them before the End of the Summer; and besides it seemed ungrateful

grateful to abandon *Lodovico*, whose present Danger was owing to his confederating with them against the *Venetians*, which provoked that Republic to enter into an Alliance with *France*. Not a few also were cautious of irritating the Duke of *Milan*, being sensible that he had it in his Power to lay several stumbling Blocks that might obstruct or retard their Enterprize upon *Pisa*.

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ON the other hand it came to be considered, that *Lodovico* was utterly incapable of resisting the Power of *France* supported by the *Venetians*; for which Reason it might be dangerous to make an Enemy of a Prince, who very probably would, in a few Months, traverse all *Italy* with an irresistible Army. Then as to the Assistance they had received from *Lodovico*, allowing it to have been the Cause of his present perilous Situation, yet the Memory of his Benefits was easily effaced by calling to Mind the many Injuries he had done them. For the very Rebellion of the *Pisans* was owing to his ambitious Desire of making himself Master of that

State;

A. D. State; and during the Revolt he had not
1499. only himself protected, but also excited

other Powers to assist the Rebels. Upon the whole it was manifest that his Injuries much outweighed his Favours, and that those very Favours were bestowed not out of any good Will to them, but from a Spirit of Revenge on those Interlopers the *Venetians*, who had reaped the Fruits of his Labours, and snatched the Prey

Florentines resolve to stand neutral. After much Deliberation, and duly weighing the Reasons that offered on both Sides, the *Florentines* at length concluded on a Neutrality, and in the mean time to pursue their Scheme against *Pisa*, for which they imagined their own Force was sufficient. But as they were not without some Apprehensions from *Lodovico*, who might possibly give them some Trouble in their Undertaking, they thought best to play his own Tricks upon himself, and amuse him with fair Words. After they had thus held him some time in suspence, without returning a direct Answer, at last they ordered one of their Secretaries to acquaint him, that they found indeed that the Sentiments of

Politick An-
swer of
the Flo-
rentines.

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of the Republic and of his Highness were the same with regard to the End, and that they only differed as to the Means : That it was resolved, after the Reduction of *Pisa*, to send him the Succours he had demanded ; but that it was not safe to enter into a Treaty, which was impracticable in a republican Goverment without entrusting the Affair in many Hands, and therefore could not be conducted with due Secrecy ; and if it should take Air, the King of *France* might take Offence, and perhaps induce the Pope and *Venetians* to lend Assistance to the *Pisans*, which would render a Treaty prejudicial to themselves, and of no Service to him ; for if they failed in their Enterprise against *Pisa*, they were not obliged, according to his own Proposals, nor indeed in a Condition, to lend him any Succours. But they assured him that he might depend on their Assistance whenever it lay in their Power to afford it, and rest satisfied with this Promise, which was given him with the Approbation of their leading Men, on whose Authority depended all the Deliberations of the Republic,

A. D. and was therefore equivalent to signed
^{1499.} Articles. They offered at the same time to come into his own Terms, if he could find any other Method that would secure them from those Inconveniences which they had laid before him. This artful and evasive Answer, tho' coloured over with such specious Reasons, as might perhaps be satisfactory to a Person of ordinary Penetration, was yet too loose and indefinite to pass itself upon *Lodovico*, who easily saw through it, and concluded, from their Refusal to accept of his Assistance, that no Stress was to be laid on the *Florentines*.

Lodovico ^{in Distress.} THE Duke was now in the utmost Perplexity, finding himself disappointed in all his Expectations. He could have no firm Reliance on *Maximilian*, who was of an inconstant Temper, and besides at War with the *Swiss*; and he had but little Dependance on *Federigo*, who had promised him Four Hundred Lances and One Thousand Foot under *Prospero Colonna*, and it was indeed his Interest to assist him; but he knew that Prince was but

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but slow in his Motions, and there was besides Reason to think that he had no Troops to spare. As for the Duke of *Ferrara*, his Father-in-Law, to whom he did not forget to make his Applications, after being first reproached with his Treachery, by which the Duke was forced to give up the Polesine of *Rovigo*, he was told that it was by no means advisable, but very dangerous for the Duke to act against the *Venetians*, because his Dominions bordered on theirs, and they might at any time be at the Gates of *Ferrara*; it was his Interest therefore to maintain Peace with his Neighbours, and attend his domestic Affairs.

Lodovico now saw himself necessitated to stand entirely upon his own ^{Lodovico} fortifies Bottom, and therefore applied himself ^{his frontier Towns} with the utmost Dilligence to fortify *Anon*, *Novara*, and *Alessandria della Paglia*, which were the first Towns the French would meet with in their March to Italy. He resolved to send *Galeazzo Sanseverino* with the greatest Part of his Forces that Way to oppose the French; and to employ

A. D. the Remainder under the Marquis of
1499. *Mantua* against the *Venetians*. But soon
after, whether out of wrong Judgment
or Avarice, or because the Decrees of
Heaven are unalterable, he changed this
wise Disposition. He had the Weakness
to persuade himself, that the *Venetians*
would find their whole Strength insuffi-
cient to defend themselves against the
mighty Power of the *Turk*, who had
declared War against them both by Sea
and Land, and would be in no Condition to
give him any Disturbance. In Complai-
fance therefore to *Galeazzo*, who was
disgusted at the superior Title of the Mar-
quis of *Mantua*, he was so impolitic as
to disoblige that General, by refusing
to pay him some old Arrears, and re-
quiring such Oaths and Securities as a
Man of Honour knew not how to dis-
pense with. But he was soon made sen-
sible of his Mistake, when he observed the
Venetian Troops daily increasing in the
Brescian, in order to be in Readiness to
commence the War in Concert with the
French on their Arrival. He then thought
himself obliged to make Application once
more.

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more to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was Father-in-Law to the Marquis of *Mantua* as well as himself, for his Interest, in order to accommodate Matters with the Marquis. But the Danger increased faster than those Differences could be adjusted; for the Duke of *Savoy* had signed a Treaty with *France*, and *French* Troops passed every Day through *Piedmont*, hastening to their Rendezvous in the Neighbourhood of *Asti*. *Lodovico's* Hopes in the mean Time were daily diminishing; *Federigo*, either out of Indolence or Inability, had as yet sent him no Reinforcement; and *Lewis*, by his Vigilance and Resolution, had at once deprived him of all Expectation from the *Florentines*, who had promised the Duke to send him, after the Reduction of *Pisa*, *Pagolo Vitelli*, an Officer of high Reputation all over *Italy*. For as soon as the King was informed that the *Florentines* had sent a Secretary to *Milan*, he upbraided their Ambassadors in such high and threatening Terms, that the Republic thought it most advisable to sign a Treaty, by which they were engaged not

A. D. to assist the Duke of *Milan*, without
1499. demanding any conditional Obligation on
the King's Side.

*Lodovico's
Force.*

Lodovico, leaving a small Number of Troops under Count *Gajazzo* on the *Venetian* Confines, ordered *Galeazzo*, with Sixteen Hundred Lances, Fifteen Hundred Horse, and Ten Thousand *Italian* and Five Hundred *German* Foot, to pass the *Po*, with an Intent to keep himself on the Defensive, and avoid coming to Action. All he regarded was to gain Time, especially on account of the Peace that was meditating by his Agent *Visconti* between *Maximilian* and the *Swiss*, which he expected every Day to hear concluded, and in consequence, according to Promise, the March of a powerful Army to his Assistance. And indeed this Peace was necessary for him, if for no other Reason than that it was impossible for him to raise more Soldiers nearer home, for so great were the Preparations and Motions on all Sides as to drain the Country of all the Men fit for Service.

No remarkable Accident happened before the Arrival of *Lewis de Ligni*, *Edward d'Aubigni*, and *Gianjaccopo Tri-vulzio* with the Forces designed for the Expedition. The King was on the Road to *Lions*, and gave out that he should pass the *Alps* if it were necessary ; yet he did not intend it, imagining his Generals sufficiently qualified and provided to perform the Work without requiring his Presence. When the whole French Army passed under Review, it was found to consist of Two Thousand Six Hundred Lances, Five Thousand Swiss, Four Thousand Gascons, and Four Thousand other French. On the 13th of August the Army arrived before *Arazzo*, a Castle situated on the Banks of the *Tanaro*, and took it in a very short Time, tho' there were Five Hundred Men in Garrison, which was owing to the brisk Fire of the Cannon, and no less to the Cowardice of the Defendants. From *Arazzo* they continued their March to *Anon*, situated on the high Road between *Asti* and *Aleffandria*, on the Banks also of the *Tanaro*. The Place

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Number
of the
French
Army.

A. D. was strong by Nature, and had been
^{1499.} newly fortified. *Sanseverino*, who was encamped near *Alezzandria*, on Advice of the Loss of *Arazzo*, had designed to reinforce the Garrison of *Anon*, which consisted of Seven Hundred newly raised Men, with some Companies of Veterans; but found it impracticable, because the *French*, to prevent all Succour, had obtained Leave of the Marquis of *Monferrato* to place Troops in *Filizzano*, a Town between *Anon* and *Alezzandria*. The raw Garrison of *Anon* made but a poor Defence, for the *French* having taken Possession of the Suburbs, attacked the Town at Four Places, and carried it in Two Days, and afterwards the Castle, and put to the Sword all who had retired thither when the Town was taken.

Sanseverino, in great Consternation at the Rapidity of these Conquests, drew his Army within the Walls of *Alezzandria*, alledging in Excuse of his Conduct, that he had no Dependance on his Foot, and that the Country was disaffected to the Duke of *Milan*. The *French*,

French, emboldened by this Timidity, approached within Four Miles of Alessandria, and at the same Time made themselves Masters of Valenza, which was well provided with Men and Artillery, by the Treachery of the Governor *Donato Raffagnino*, a Milanese Gentleman, who was bribed by *Trivulzio*, and introduced the French through the Castle, into the Town, where they killed and took the whole Garrison ; among the Prisoners was *Ottaviano*, a bastard Brother of *Sanseverino*. It is remarkable that this same Governor, Twenty Years before, had in the same Manner betrayed *Bona*, and her Son *Giovanni Galeazzo*, by giving up to *Lodovico* a Gate of *Tortona*, on the same Day in the Year that he admitted the French into Valenza. The French now carried all before them like a Torrent, and took *Basignano*, *Voghiera*, *Castelnuovo*, and *Ponte Corone* without Resistance ; and a few Days after the important Town and Citadel of *Tortona*, the Governor *Antonmaria Pallavicino*, with his Garrison, retiring over the *Po* without standing an Assault.

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THIS

THE HISTORY OF

THIS rapid Progress of the Enemy terribly alarmed *Lodovico Sforza*, who seeing his Sovereignty, like a weather-beaten Edifice, sinking into Ruins, and, as it often happens in great and sudden Calamities, deprived at once of Prudence and Resolution, had recourse to those Expedients which are the common Refuge of Despair, but which serve only to discover the Greatness of the Danger, without administering any Comfort or Relief. He ordered a List to be taken of all the Men in the City of *Milan*, who were capable of bearing Arms, summoned a general Assembly of the Inhabitants, to whom he was become odious on account of the heavy Taxes, and in their Presence abolished several of those Duties that were most oppressive; after which, in very pathetic Expressions, he thus addressed the People.

*Lodovico's
Speech to
the Peo-
ple of
Milan.* " If the good People of *Milan*, he said, found themselves overcharged with Taxes, he trusted that they would not ascribe it to his natural Disposition, or to

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a covetous Desire of accumulating Riches, but to the Condition of the Times, and the Dangers that surrounded *Italy*, first from the Ambition of the *Venetians*, and afterwards from the Passage of King *Charles*: That he was forced to levy Money, to preserve the Peace and Tranquility of the Dutchy, and be prepared against those who would otherwise have invaded him. He therefore thought he could no way better merit of his People than by averting a War, which is always attended by a Train of Calamities. That this Conduct had its desired Effect, as the Event plainly proved, since, for so long a Term of Years under his Government, they had enjoyed Peace and Quietness, which had enabled them to grow rich, and augment the Splendor and Magnificence of their City beyond all others; witness the stately Structures, the public Spectacles, the great Increase of Artificers and other Inhabitants, not only in *Milan*, but over the whole Dutchy, to the no small Envy and Amazement of all the other States of *Italy*. He desired them to reflect how he had not governed

them

A. D.

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them with Cruelty and Rigour, but with Humanity and Mildness: That he alone, among all the Princes of that Age, sparing no Pains to make his Subjects easy, had, on certain appointed Days, admitted promiscuously to his Presence all who desired it, and administered summary and impartial Justice. He put them in Mind of his Father's Merits, of his Beneficence and good Nature; how he had governed them more like Children than Subjects. He then laid before them the Haughtiness and Insolence of the *French*, who, were they once in Possession of the Dutchy, would doubtless behave, as they did in former times, when they were settled in *Lombardy*, drive out the old Inhabitants, and replace them with People of their own Country. He therefore thought it his Duty to forewarn them, that out of Dread and Abhorrence of such barbarous and arbitrary Proceedings, they might all as one Man unite in the Defence of their Lives and Fortunes: That there could be no Doubt but that if they made a resolute Stand against the first Shock, which however sharp would be but short, their Defence

A. D.
1499.

fence afterwards would become easier every Day: For it was the Nature of the French to attack with Fury, and spend their Spirits at the first Charge, but to remit of their Ardor, and be dismayed at a vigorous Repulse. That he expected vast Succours from Germany that were ready to march under the King of the Romans, who had composed his Differences with the Swiss; and that he had received Advice that Prospero Colonna was already on his March from Naples with a Body of Auxilliaries, and had Reason to believe that the Marquis of Mantoua, with whom he was reconciled, had by this time entered the Cremonese with Three Hundred Men at Arms. That if with all these Hopes and Encouragements the Resolution and Fidelity of his People would but heartily concur, he should be under no Apprehensions of the Enemies, not even tho' he were to encounter the whole Power of France." This Speech drew Attention, but had no other Effect on the Assembly.

LODOVICO

*Lodovico
bends his
whole
Strength
against
the French*

THE HISTORY OF

LODOVICO was resolved to make his greatest Efforts against the *French*, without giving himself much Concern about the *Venetians*, who had already entered the *Ghiaradadda*, and taken *Caravaggio* and other Towns near the *Adda*. Pursuant to this Resolution he remanded Count *Gajazzo* with the best Part of his Troops from the Frontiers on that Side to *Pavia*, with Orders to join *Galeazzo* for the Defence of *Alessandria*. But all Precaution was now useless, and his Ruin was visibly approaching from all Quarters: For *Gajazzo* ungratefully forgetting the *Gajazzo's* innumerable Favours bestowed on himself Treachery. and his Family by *Lodovico*, had already treated and come to an Agreement with the *French*, being piqued, it seems, at the Preference of *Galeazzo*, his younger Brother, and a younger Soldier, in the Command of the Army, and at his being distinguished the first in the Distribution of Favours and Honours. It was reported that the Duke had some time before been apprised of the intended Treachery; and that, after a small Pause, he answered the

the Informer, with a Sigh, that he could
not believe so much Ingratitude ; but, if
it were true, he did not see how it could
be prevented; nor knew in whom he
could confide for the future, if his
most intimate Friends, whom he had
loaded with Benefits, could betray him;
adding, that he could not but think it a
greater Misfortune, and besides more
dangerous, to deprive himself on a vain
Suspicion, of the Services of a faithful
Servant, than, by an uncautious Cred-
ulity, to trust his Affairs in the Hands
of such as were of dubious Fidelity.

COUNT GAJAZZO had ordered a Bridge
to be laid over the *Po*, over which he
was to pass and join his Brother. But
as he never intended this Conjunction, he
artfully retarded the finishing of this
Bridge, and when it was finished still
found some Pretence for delaying his
Passage. It was now Two Days since
the French had opened the Trenches be-
fore *Alessandria*, and their Batteries had
fired very briskly. *Galeazzo*, who had
Twelve Hundred Men at Arms, the same

Num-

A. D. Number of light Horse, and Three
^{1499.} Thousand Foot in Garrison, on the Third
Day of the Siege in the Evening, without
communicating his Resolution to any
Officer except *Lucio Malvezzo*, accom-
panied by a Party of Horse, deserted his
Charge at *Aleffandria*, and went off loaded
with the Infamy due to so base a Treachery ;
and leaving to the World just Reason to
reflect on the Weakness of *Lodovico's*
Judgment in putting such a Man at the
Head of his Forces. This infamous
Example of *Galeazzo* is a clear Proof
that there is a very great Difference be-
tween managing a fine Courser, and
running at Tilts and Tournaments with
heavy Lances (Exercises in which *Ga-*
leazzo had no Superior) and discharging
the Office of a General. The same ought
to be a Warning to all Sovereigns, not to
deceive themselves in their Choice of
Ministers to be employed in Places of
Trust, by preferring them on account of
private Love and Affection, rather than
of known Virtue and Merit.

As soon as it was divulged that Galeazzo had taken his Flight, the whole City of Aleffandria was in an Uproar, some fled, some hid themselves, and others wandered about in Confusion. The French took Advantage of this Disorder, and entered the Town by break of Day, stripping the Soldiers that came in their Way, ^{Aleffandria taken and plundered.} and then plundered the Houses.

SOME said that Galeazzo had received Letters under the Hand and Seal of Lodovico, with Orders to abandon Aleffandria, and march with all his Troops directly to Milan; where the People began to be tumultuous : others affirmed that whatever were the Contents, they were forged by Count Gajazzo, to give the French an Opportunity of getting Possession of Aleffandria. — Galeazzo used afterwards to shew these Letters in his own Vindication, by which it appeared, that he was commissioned to come away directly, and leave the Army to all Hazards, tho' he might think it practicable to conduct it into a Place of Safety. Their Authenticity

THE HISTORY OF

however is not so unquestionable, as it is that if *Galeazzo* had acted the Part of an able and resolute General, he might, with the Forces he commanded, have easily defended *Alessandria*, as well as most of the Places on that Side of the *Po*, and might even have reaped some Advantage. For it happened that, one Day after Part of the *French* Army had passed the *Bornia*, there fell so heavy a Rain, that they were for a long time confined between the *Bornia* and the *Tanaro* without a Possibility of returning to their Camp. Yet, when so fair an Opportunity offered, and tho' the General had Advice that a Party of his light Horse had sallied by the Bridge over the *Tanaro*, that joins the City to the Suburbs, and put to Flight the first Squadron* of the Enemy, yet he wanted Courage to engage them.

THE Loss of *Alessandria* put the whole Dutchy in a Consternation, which was every Day increased by some new Misfortune. For as soon as the *French* had

* The *Italians* use the Word *Squadron* to signify a Body of Foot as well as of Horse.

had passed the *Po*, and encamped at ^{A. D.} *Mortara, Pavia* declared for them. On ^{1499.} the other Side, the *Venetians* after taking *Caravaggio*, passed the *Adda* on a Bridge of Boats, and made Excursions as far as *Lodi*. The whole *Milanese* was now in a Ferment, and the People every where tumultuous ; nor was the Confusion less in the Capital than in other Places. The whole City took up Arms, and very little Respect was shewn to the Sovereign. For his first Treasurer, *Antonio Landriano*, who had attended him to the Castle, was, on his Return, assassinated, in the open Streets, at Noonday ; either out of some private Revenge, or by Orders of those who wanted a Revolution *. This audacious Fact made *Lodovico* very apprehensive for his own Safety ; wherefore mistrusting any other Means to secure himself, he resolved to leave the Castle well provided, and retire with his Family

Z 2

into

* *Landriano* was assassinated by *Simone Rigone* at the Head of Twelve Horsemen, who gave him Three Wounds, of which he died Two Days after, During his Illness *Lodovico* sent Cardinal *Sanseverino* and his own Brother to visit him. The Death of this great Man was the principal Cause of the Ruin of the Dutchy. *Cerio.*

A. D. ^{1499.} into Germany, both to avoid the present
 Danger, and to sollicit *Maximilian*, who
 had made Peace with the *Swiss*, or was
 on the Point of doing it, for his Pro-
 tection and Assistance.

Lodovico
sends a-
way his
Children. IN pursuance of this Resolution he immediately sent away his Children *, accompanied by the Cardinals *Sanseverino* and *Ascanio Sforza*, which last had a few Days before arrived from *Rome* to assist his Brother with his Counsel. With the same Company he also entrusted his Treasure, which was very much diminished of its usual Bulk ; it being well known that Eight Years before, when the Duke, out of Ostentation, made a Show of it to the foreign Ministers, it was estimated, in Money, Gold and Silver Plate, not reckoning the costly Jewels, at a Million and Half of Ducats ; whereas now it was thought not to exceed Two Hundred Thousand.

AFTER the Departure of his Children he constituted *Bernardino da Corte* of *Pavia*

* He made the People believe that he sent his Children to meet *Maximilian*. *Giovio.*

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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via. Governor of the Castle of *Milan*, A. D. 1499.
contrary to the Advice of his Friends, and of his Brother *Ascanio*, who offered himself to undertake that Charge. But he thought none more faithful, or so proper for that important Trust, as a Person who had been his Pupil, and educated under his Tuition. He left in Garrison Three Thousand Foot under Officers of approved Fidelity, with Provisions of Victuals, Money and military Stores, sufficient for several Months. For the Management of Affairs in *Genoa* the Duke depended on *Agostino Adorno* the Governor, and on *Giovanni* his Brother, who had espoused a Sister of the *Sanseverini*, to whom he entrusted the Guard of the Castelletto. He made Restitution to the *Boromei*, a Family of Quality of *Milan*, of *Anghiera* and *Arona*, with other Lands on the *Lago Maggiore*, which he had formerly seized into his Possession; and, on Payment of Thirty Thousand Ducats, he made a Surrender of the Duchy of *Bari*, and the Principality of *Rossano*, to his Nephew's Widow, *Isabella* of *Aragon*, as a Settlement for her Dowry; tho' that Lady had refused

A. D. to entrust him with her little Son, whom
^{1499.} he would have sent with his own Children into *Germany*. These Affairs being settled, and his Reign at an End in the City, he continued in the Castle as long as he could with Safety, and on the 2d of September set out with weeping Eyes for *Germany*, in Company of Cardinal *d'Este*. and *Galeazzo Sanseverino*, escorted by *Lucio Malvezzo*, with a strong Party of Infantry and Men at Arms*. He had no sooner set Foot out of the Castle, than Count *Gajazzo*, to give some Colour to his infamous Desertion, presented himself before him, and freely told him that since he abandoned his Dominions, he thought himself released from his Service, and at Liberty to chuse his Master; and immediatly after he displayed the King's Commission, and went over to the *French* with his Troops which he had raised and subsisted with *Lodovico's Money*.

Gajazzo deserts to the French

LODOVICO

* *Cerio* says, *Lodovico* was escorted by a Body of Four Thousand Men. *Bembo* writes that the *Milanese* gave him plain Notice that they intended to surrender themselves to the *French* if he abandoned them; and that, at his Departure, he heard the People cry aloud 'a *Lewis*, a *Lewis*.'

Lodovico passed through *Como*, and left the Castle to the Guard of the Townsmen, from thence was rowed down to *Bellagio*, and landed near *Bornio*, his Way lying through all those Places, where not long before, in the Midst of his Glory, and at the Height of his Prosperity, he had made so magnificent an Appearance, when he entertained *Maximilian*, who at that Time had more the Appearance of an Officer of his own or the *Venetian* Service, than of a King of the *Romans*. He was pursued between *Como* and *Bornio* by the *French*, and by Count *Gajazzo*'s Troops, but got safe to *Tironno*, where he left a Garrison, and from thence to *Inspruck*, where he expected to meet *Maximilian*.

*Lodovico arrives at
Insprück.*

As soon as *Lodovico* was retired * the *Milanese* sent Deputies to the *French* Army, which was advanced within Six Miles of their City, and agreed to receive them within their Walls without any Capitulation,

Z 4

Milan receives the French.

* Four Days after *Lodovico*'s Departure the People of *Milan* cried out for the *French*, as we are told by *Bembo*,

A. D.
1499.

pitulation, which they chose to have settled on the King's Arrival, from whom consulting merely their own Interest, they expected to receive great Privileges and Exemptions. The Example of *Milan* was followed by the whole Dutchy. The City of *Cremona*, surrounded by the *Venetians*, whose Government the People abhorred, would have surrendered also to the King; but *Lewis* being determined not to infringe the Articles of the Convention, that Place was obliged to submit to the *Venetians*. *Genoa* shewed the same Propensity to the *French*, the People, the *Venetians*, *Adorni*, and *Giovanni Luigi del Fiesco*, striving who should have the principal Hand in delivering up their City to the King. And, to compleat *Lodovico*'s Misfortunes, who in the Space of Twenty Days had lost so noble and powerful a State, the ungrateful and perfidious Governor of the Castle of *Milan*, whom his Master had selected as the most trusty Officer of his whole Army, on the 12th Day after the Duke's Departure gave up a Castle deemed impregnable, without firing

Cremona
submits
to the
Venetians.

Genoa sub-
mits to the
French,

firing a Gun. As a Reward of so meritorious an Act of Treachery, he was gratified with the Command of One Hundred Lances, and a Pension for Life, besides a very large Sum of Money, with many other Privileges and Immunities.* But so perfidious a Breach of Trust was quite odious in the Eye of the World, and his Company was avoided even by the *French* Officers, as they would that of a wild Beast ; so that meeting with nothing but Contempt and Reproaches wherever he went, he was at length overcome with Shame and Remorse, the powerful and never-failing Scourges of Villainy, and died in great Horror and Anguish of Spirit. Several other Officers in the Castle had a Share in the Guilt of this unworthy Governor, and amongst the rest *Filippo dal Fresco*, another great Favourite of the Duke, who had bred him from a Child, and had left him in the Castle, as one in whom he could confide. But he, on the contrary, was so base-minded, and forgetful of his Duty and Obligations,

A. D.
1499.

* The Sum was Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds of Gold. *Bembo.*

A. D. Obligations, that, instead of dissuading
1499. the Governor from his treacherous Intentions, he suffered himself to be corrupted by fine Promises, had a chief Hand in the Plot, assisted at the Conferences, and was one of those that treated with *Antonio Maria Pallavicini*, the French Commissary, about the Surrendry of the Castle.

King of France arrives at Milan. LEWIS was at *Lions* when he received the News of this rapid Conquest, which in point of Time had exceeded his Expectation. He had no more to do but to set out with all Speed for *Milan*, where he was received with loud Acclamations, and immediately, to ingratiate himself, abolished several Duties. But as the common People are ever exorbitant in their Expectations, they were not contented, having persuaded themselves that they were not to have a single Tax left. The King bestowed Lands on several noble Families of the Dutchy, and particularly on *Gianjacopo Trivulzi*, who, in reward of his good Services, had *Vigevano* assigned him, with many other Emoluments.

WHILE

WHILE the French were thus successful in Lombardy, Pagolo Vitelli assembled his whole Force in order to reduce Pisa. He begun with the Siege of Cascina, which surrendered in Twenty-six Hours, tho' it was well provided with Soldiers and all Things necessary, and had a good Ditch and other Fortifications: But the foreign Troops observing that the Pisan Soldiers were disheartened at the Weakness of the Walls, and inclined to surrender, capitulated for themselves, leaving the others, with the Pisan Commissary, to the Mercy of the Enemy. The Tower erected for the Defence of the Mouth of the Arno was delivered up at the first Summons of a Trumpet, and the Fort on the Lake was abandoned; so that the Pisans had now no other fortified Places, beside their City, left in their Territory except the Verrucola, and the Tower of Ascanio; and these it was not adviseable to attack, because as they were contiguous to Pisa, they might be easily succoured; and also on account of their Situation on the other Side of the Arno, and not of

Con-

A. D. Consequence enough to induce the Army
^{1499.} to pass the River.

Siege of
Pisa.

Thus the *Pisans* had now nothing left to defend but their City, which was generally thought incapable of making any long Resistance. But Men of Penetration, who considered the Strength of the Town, and the Number, Courage, and Desperation of the Defenders, were of a different Opinion. For though the Number of foreign Troops was inconsiderable, being only those who, with *Gurlino* of *Ravenna*, had remained after the *Venetians* had recalled their Forces, yet there was a vast Number of Inhabitants and Peasants, who with Five Year's Experience were become brave Soldiers, and were determined to suffer the last Extremities rather than submit to the *Florentines*. The Town had no Ditch, but the Walls were very thick, built after the antient Manner, with Stone, and so well cemented by the Goodness of the Mortar peculiar to that Country, as to resist the Artillery much better than ordinary Walls, and give Time for repairing the Breaches.

However,

However, by the Advice of *Pagolo Vitelli* A. D.
and *Rinuccio da Marciano*, who gave 1499.
Hopes and expected that the Town would
be taken in a Fortnight, the Siege was
undertaken.

PAGOLO having got together Ten Thousand Foot with a great Number of Horse, and being supplied with all the Necessaries he required, on the last Day of July opened the Trenches, but not on that Side of the *Arno* which would have prevented any Succours coming from *Lucca*, as several Officers advised, but on the other Side of the River against the Fort of *Stampace*, the taking of which, he thought, would much facilitate his Enterprise, both on account of Convenience of Situation for the more easy and safe Reception of Convoys of Provisions from the Hills, and also because he knew that the *Pisans*, not expecting an Attack on that Side, had neglected to make any new Fortifications, as they had done on the other. Having therefore erected a Battery of Twenty Cannon, he began to play on *Stampace*, and on a large Space of the

A. D.

1499

the Wall on each Side, reaching from *Sant' Antonio* in *Stampace* as far as the Sea Gate on the Bank of the *Arno*. On the other hand the *Pisans* worked Day and Night on the Breach, the Women assisting and shewing no less Resolution than the Men, till they had raised a high and thick Rampart, with a wide Ditch before it, without being dismayed at the Sight of those who were wounded, many of them mortally, by the Enemy's Artillery, either by their own Carelessness, or the Rebounding of the Balls while they were at Work. The Besiegers too suffered no less in their Camp by the Fire from the Place, for the Shot from *Stampace* came so thick, that together with the Fire of the Cannon from the Walls, and especially from a Platform on the Tower of *San Marco*, they were galled to such a Degree that they were obliged to throw up high Banks before them, or lodge in Ditches.

THE Siege went on in this Manner for several Days, and tho' a large Breach had been made in the Wall of *Sant' Antonio* *a Stampace*,

a Stampace, and that Fort was so shattered A. D. ^{1499.} that the General imagined it might be carried without much Difficulty, yet the more to facilitate an Attack, and assure himself of the Success, he continued widening the Breaches from *Stampace* to the Sea-gate, till at last all Communication with that Fort was cut off, and it stood quite without the Rampart, which had been erected by the *Pisans* at a good Distance from the Walls, which gave Room for frequent Skirmishes between the broken Wall and the Rampart, in one of which Count *Rinuccio* received a Musket Shot. What the General had in View was, after the Taking of *Stampace*, to plant a Battery there, and on the Ruins of the Wall, which taking in flank all that Part which was defended by the Besieged, he doubted not to be Master of the Place, especially since at the same time he laboured at undermining a Part of the Wall between *Stampace* and the Rampart, which was already weakened with Pickaxes, and supported with wooden Props, in order to make it fall towards the Rampart, and by its Ruins to fill up the Ditch, which, when they

A. D. they gave the Assault, would much facilitate it, the Town Wall being very high in that Part.

1499.

ON the other hand the *Pisans*, who were under the Direction of *Gurlino*, had made some Casemates in the Ditch towards *Sant' Antonio*, to prevent the Enemy from filling it up, planted a good Number of Cannon towards that Place, and posted their Infantry before the Rampart, being resolved in case of Extremity to fight Hand to Hand, and dispute every Inch of Ground.

Stampace
taken by
Storm.

On the 10th Day of the Siege, *Vitelli*, by Break of Day, gave the Assault to *Stampace*, and tho' the Troops suffered greatly from the Artillery of the Old Citadel, he carried the Place much sooner and easier than he expected, to the great Amazement of the *Pisans*, who were so terrified that they abandoned their Ramparts in a Panic, and ran about the Town, and many of the Citizens, among whom was *Piero Gambacorta*, with his Troop of Forty Archers on Horseback, fled out of the

the Gates, and many more would have fled had not the Magistrates placed a Guard at the Gates. In short, the Consternation was so great, that if *Pagolo* had pushed on his good Fortune he might undoubtedly have put an End to the War that very Morning, and made that the most glorious Day of his Life, which by his own fatal Remissness and Neglect proved the Beginning and Source of all his Calamities. He said, indeed, in his Excuse, that he knew nothing of the Consternation of the Town, and that if he had known it he had formed no other Design than that of taking *Stampace* that Day, and had made no Preparations for a general Assault. This seems to be the Reason why the Rampart was not attacked, where he could have met with no Resistance, and why he remanded back to the Camp the greater Part of his Army, which on the Taking of *Stampace* had hurried thither in a tumultuous Manner, in hopes of entering the Town, and plundering it. The *Pisans*, on the News being spread that the Enemy stopt short, and did not prosecute their Advantage,

A. D. took heart afresh, and being farther animated by the Cries and Lamentations of their Women, conjuring them to chuse Death rather than Slavery under the *Florentines*, returned to their Posts on the Ramparts. *Gurlino*, who had undertaken the Defence of *Pisa*, observing that the Enemy had raised a Terras of Earth and Planks along the Way that leads from the Ravelin before *Stampace* to the Seagate, and fortified it towards the Field, but had neglected another Way to *Stampace*, he gave Orders for terrasing the same with all Speed in the same Manner, and for erecting a Platform, on which he planted a Battery, that took the Fort in Flank, and hindered all Access on that Side.

PAGOLO being in Possession of *Stampace*, raised a high Battery of Falconets and other small Pieces, that commanded the whole Town, but did no Damage to the Ramparts, which were however pretty much shattered by a Battery of large Cannon planted lower ; but the *Pisans* would not abandon them, but continued resolute in their Defence ; at the same time the Besiegers

ers continued to batter the Casemate towards *Sant' Antonio*, and the Sea-gate, and to ruin their Outworks. The General laboured hard to fill up the Ditch with Fascines, in order to facilitate the Attack of the Rampart. On the other hand the *Pisans*, receiving a Supply of Three Hundred Foot from *Lucca* on the Night following resumed fresh Courage, redoubled their Efforts, and threw Pots of Wildfire on the Enemy's Workmen. Having frustrated this Attempt, the main Point they now had in View was to force the Besiegers to abandon the Fort of *Stampace*. For this Purpose they mounted a very large Piece of Cannon called the *Bufalo*, and pointing it against the Fort, after a few Shot it dismounted the high Battery ; and tho' *Pagolo* had directed some Pieces of Cannon to play upon it, which did some Damage to its Mouth, yet it continued to fire, till in a few Days it had shattered the Fort to such a Degree, that *Pagolo* thought fit at last to remove his Cannon and abandon the Place. Nor had he better Success at the Wall he had weakened with Pick-axes, for the *Pisans* having countermined

A. D.
1499.

A. D. it on the Inside, in order to make it fall
1499. off from the Ditch, when after removing
the Props, he expected it to tumble down,
it stood immovable.

IN spite of these Disadvantages *Vitelli* did not despair of carrying his Point at last, and making himself Master of the Place ; for which End, indulging his natural Temper, he resolved to proceed slowly tho' the more securely, in order to save the Lives of his Men as much as possible. And therefore, tho' there were in many Places Breaches of above One Hundred Foot, he continued to enlarge his Batteries, to fill up the Ditches with Earth, and to repair the Fort of *Stampace*, in order to plant on it a new Battery which might take in Flank the great Rampart which the *Pisans* had erected. In short he tried the utmost of his Skill and Art for obtaining a fair Opportunity of giving a general and regular Assault, with the surest Prospect of Success, and at the least Expence of Blood. But these dilatory Proceedings were no way satisfactory to the *Florentines*, who were very uneasy

uneasy at the least Delay, and continually A. D.
1499. teased him with Letters and Messages, urging him to be expeditious and hasten the Attack, lest some Impediment, which might arise every Hour, should be thrown in his Way.

THIS Conduct of the General, tho' perhaps prudent, and agreeable to the Rules of military Discipline, proved thro' his ill Fortune to be the Cause of his Destruction. The Territory of *Pisa* being full of standing Pools and Marshes between the City and the Sea, is subject at this Season of the Year to pestilential Winds, and especially in that Part where the *Florentines* were encamped, and in the Space of Forty-eight Hours a violent Fever was propagated through the Army, so that when *Pagolo* came to give the Assault on the 23d of *August*, he found so great a Number of sick and enfeebled Persons, that he had not Men enough left to go upon it. The *Florentines*, and the General who himself laboured under the common Disorder, endeavoured to remedy this Inconvenience by listing new Men;

A. D. Men ; but the Distemper raged so violent-
1499. ly that the Diminution every Day much exceeded the Supplement. At last *Pagolo* giving over all Hopes of Success, and apprehensive of being attacked himself, thought it necessary to raise the Siege; which was contrary to the Opinion of many of the *Florentines*, who were for placing a good Garrison in *Stampace*, and continuing in their fortified Camp near *Pisa*. But *Vitelli* would by no means hearken to their Advice, for *Stampace* had been so shattered and damaged by his own Cannon and that of the Besieged, that it was not tenable. He therefore Siege of
Pisa rais'd on the 4th of September broke up his Camp, and abandoned the Place, directing his March along the Road that goes to the Sea ; and as it was thought impracticable to convey the Artillery by Land to *Cascina*, because the Waters had spoiled the Roads, it was embarked at the Mouth of the *Arno*, in order to be transported to *Livorno*. But here the same ill Fortune attended this as did all his other Undertakings, for Part of the Cannon

non was sunk, and a short time after recovered by the *Pisans*, who at the same time retook the Tower that guarded the Mouth of the *Arno*. A. D.
1499.

THESE repeated Misfortunes augmented the ill Opinion which the *Florentines* had before conceived of *Vitelli* to such a Height, that a few Days after being summoned by the Commissaries to *Cascina*, on Pretence of consulting about the Distribution of the Troops into their several Quarters, he was there arrested by Order of the superior Magistracy, and sent to *Florence*, where he was the same Night Pogolo ar-
rested, tor-
tured, and
beheaded. severely put to the Question, and the next Day beheaded. *Vitellozzo* his Brother narrowly escaped the same Fate ; for the Commissaries had the same Instant sent to apprehend him ; but he, infirm as he was, of the Sickness contracted before *Pisa*, feigning Obedience to their Orders, got out of Bed, and while he was dressing himself some of his Domestics who got about him provided a Horse, which he mounted with their Assistance, and got Vitellozzo
escapes to
Pisa.

A. D. safe to *Pisa*, where he was received with
 1499. open Arms. *

Articles
against
Vitelli.

THE principal Articles laid to *Vitelli's* Charge were, That it was owing to his Want of Will that *Pisa* was not taken, which might have been done the same Day that the Fort of *Stampace* was taken ; That for the same Reason he so long delayed to give the Assault : That he had received frequent Messages from *Pisa* without communicating the Subject to the Commissaries : That he had raised the Siege of *Pisa*, and abandoned *Stampace*, contrary to express Orders : That he had invited one of the other Generals to be his Accomplice in seizing on *Cascina*, *Vico Pisano*, and the Artillery, that on the Payments and other Articles he might have it in his Power to manage the *Florentines* as he should think fit : That whilst he was in the *Casentino* he held private Correspondence with the *Medi-*
ci,

* *Vitellozzo*, while he was delaying to dress himself, that he might give Time for his Friends to come about him, saw some of his Lances among the Spectators, by whose Assistance he forced his Way, and got safe to *Pisa*. *Buonocorsi*.

ci, and at the same time negotiated and ^{A. D.} as good as concluded a Treaty with the ^{1499.} *Venetians*, by which he was to enter into their Service at the Expiration of his Term of Agreement with the *Florentines*, which was near at hand ; that did not take Effect because the *Venetians*, having concluded a Peace with the *Florentines*, had no Occasion for his Service ; but that, in consideration of this Agreement, he had granted a Pass to the Duke of *Urbino* and *Giuliano de' Medici*. These were the Crimes laid to his Charge, but he confessed nothing in particular, while he was under the Torture that could affect his Life ; his Execution was hastened for fear that the King of *France*, who was arrived at *Milan*, should demand him to be set at Liberty. After his Death some of his Intimates, who had passed under a longer Examination, confessed no more than that *Pagolo* thought he had many Reasons to be dissatisfied with the *Florentines*, as particularly for their Partiality in favour of Count *Rinuccio*, the Difficulties they made in sending him the Supplies which he from time to time demanded,

and

A. D. and the scandalous Reports spread in *Florence* of his Conduct, to the great Injury of his Reputation. Upon the whole, tho' some may continue to think that he had not discharged his Office with just Fidelity, and that he aspired to the Sovereignty of *Pisa*, or to make himself Master of some Part of the *Florentine* Dominions, where he had great Friends and Interest, yet the major Part were of the more charitable Side, and of Opinion that he used his best Endeavours to take *Pisa*, which he was sensible would have procured him immense Glory, it being the chief Concern of great Captains to embrace all Opportunities of acquiring Honour and Fame.

King of
France
addressed
by the rest
of the
Italian
Potentates

THE King of *France* being arrived at *Milan*, received the Addresses and Congratulations of all the Potentates of *Italy*, except King *Federigo*, either in proper Person, or by their Ambassadors; some congratulating him on his Conquest, some vindicating themselves from the Charge of having favoured *Lodovico*, and others to settle with his Majesty their future Operations.

A. D.
1499.

tions. They were all graciously received, and the King entered into Engagements with each of them, but of a different Kind according to the Diversity of their Circumstances, by which he might promise himself more or less Advantage from their Friendship. Among the rest the Marquis of *Mantoua* was received into his Protection, had the Command of One Hundred Lances given him, with a handsome Salary, and was honoured with the Order of *St. Michael**. The Duke of *Ferrara* was also received under the royal Protection. Both these Princes waited on his Majesty in Person, but it was not without some Difficulty and Expence that the Duke got himself intitled to the royal Favour; for ever since he had consigned the Castelletto of *Genoa* into the Hands of *Lodovico*, he was regarded as a Person disaffected to the *French* Interest. *Giovanni Bentivoglio* deputed his Son *Annibale* to pay his Respects and crave the royal Protection, which was not granted without a Sum of Money. But the *Florentines*

* The Marquis only accepted of the Order of *St. Michael*, refusing the military Place, and a yearly Pension of Twelve Thousand Livres. *Maria Equicola,*

A. D. ^{1499.} *tines* found it more difficult and expensive to compound Matters ; all their past Services were forgot, and no Regard paid to all they had suffered for the *French* Cause in the Times of the late King. The whole Court seemed to be set against them, and turned the deaf Ear to all they had to plead in justification of their Neutrali-ty, to which, they said, they had been ne-cessitated, that they might not make an Adversary of *Lodovico* in the Affair of *Pisa*. What passed in the memorable Transaction, when King *Charles* set the *Pisans* at Liberty, had made a deep Im-pression on the Minds of the *French*, and the Fame of their glorious Resistance begot an Esteem and Affection, and pre-possessed the military Men in their Favour. The Authority also of *Gianjacopo Trivulzio* was of no small Prejudice to the *Floren-tines* at this Juncture, for that old Captain, aspiring to the Sovereignty of *Pisa*, favour-ed the Cause of the *Pisans*, who were disposed to accept of him or any one else that could defend them against the *Flo-rentines*. The Ambassadors also met with bitter Reflexions from the whole Court
on

on account of the Death of *Pagolo Vitelli*, A. D.
and were told that their Masters had, ¹⁴⁹⁹⁻
without any just Reason, cut off the Head
of that valiant Captain, to whom the
Crown of *France* lay under Obligations,
for his Brother had been killed, and him-
self taken Prisoner, while they were in
the Service of King *Charles* in the King-
dom of *Naples*. But *Lewis* did not so
far indulge his Resentments, as not to let
Reasons of State prevail over vain and
popular Prejudices, and therefore Matters
were compounded, and the *Florentines*
also received under the royal Protection*,
the King obliging himself to assist them
with Six Hundred Lances and Four Articles
Thousand Foot, against all Invaders, and of the
the *Florentines* reciprocally engaging to between
supply his Majesty with Four Hundred ^{the King} and the
Men at Arms and Three Thousand Foot ^{and the} *Floren-*
for the Defence of his Dominions in *Italy*: ^{tines.}

Further,

* *Buonacorsi*, in his Account of this Treaty or League, condemns the Dilatoriness of the *Florentines*, who might have obtained what Conditions they pleased of the King while he was in *France*; but after he came to *Milan* and saw himself a Conqueror, he naturally rose in his Demands, and they were forced to purchase this League with a round Sum of Money, and with little Benefit to the Commonwealth.

A. D. Further, it was agreed that on the first
^{1499.} Demand of the *Florentines* the King
should furnish them with the aforesaid
Number of Lances and a sufficient Quantity
of Artillery for the Recovery of *Pisa*,
and of those Lands and Territories taken
from them by the *Senese* and *Lucchese*, but
not of those held by the *Genoese*: That
if they did not demand of the King the
Auxiliaries stipulated, before his Enter-
prise against *Naples*, he should be obliged,
when he undertook that Expedition, to
send all or Part of them against the
Pisans; and they engaged, if *Pisa* at that
Time should be recovered, and not
otherwise, to join the royal Army with
Five Hundred Men at Arms, and ad-
vance Fifty Thousand Ducats towards the
Maintenance of Five Thousand *Swiss* for
Three Months, besides Re-payment of
Thirty-six Thousand Ducats lent them by
Lodovico, deducting from the said Sum
what *Trivulzio* should declare to have been
paid or expended on his account. Lastly, that
they should elect for their Captain General
the Prefect of *Rome*, who was Brother
to

to the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, at ^{A. D.} 1499.
whose Instance this Demand was made.

THE Pope, whose Ambition would not suffer him to lie dormant at so fair an Opportunity, now thought it a fit Time to insist on the Performance of the Promises by which the King was engaged to assist Duke *Valentino* against the Vicars of *Romagna*. The Duke, who had accompanied his Majesty out of *France*, in consequence of this Request, was put at the Head of Three Hundred Lances under ^{affists the} *Ivo d'Allegri* paid by the King, and Four Thousand *Swiss* commanded by the Bailiff of *Dijon*, who were in the Pay of the Pope his Father.

THE Cities of *Romagna*, as well as other Territories of the Ecclesiastic State, ^{State of} the Cities, had undergone Variety of Revolutions, and ^{of Ro-} been for many Years under Governors, ^{magna.} who were in a manner independent of the Roman Pontiff; some of these Governors, or Vicars as they were called, paid them no Tribute in Acknowledgement of their Superiority, others with Difficulty, and when

A. D. when they pleased. But all in general
¹⁴⁹⁹ thought themselves at Liberty to enter into
the Service of other Princes, without
asking leave of the Pope, or so much as ex-
cepting themselves from bearing Arms
against the holy See; but on the contrary
were obliged to defend those Princes
against the pontifical Arms and Authority.
The Service of these Vicars was very much
coveted, for, besides their Power and
Strength, which was considerable, their
Country lay very convenient for distress-
ing the Pope, and checking the Growth
of the ecclesiastical Power and Influence.
At this time the Cities of *Ravenna* and *Cervia*
were in the Hands of the *Venetians*, who
had many Years before wrested them
from the *Polenta* Family, who from
private Citizens had made themselves Tyr-
ants * of their Country, and were after-
wards acknowledged as Vicars of the holy
See. *Faenza*, *Forli*, *Imola* and *Rimini*
had each their particular Vicars; *Cesena*,
which had long been in Subjection to the
Family of the *Malatesti*, had lately, since
the

* The *Italians* gave the Name of Tyrants to them and
their Descendants who obtained the Sovereignty of a City
by Force.

the Death of *Domenico Malatesta*, returned under the Obedience of the Church. But the Pope pretending that these Cities were, for many Reasons, devolved to the holy See, was resolved to reduce them to their antient Subje^ction, tho' in reality he designed them for his Son *Cæsar*, and had with this View stipulated with the *French* King that, after the Conquest of *Milan* he should lend him his Assistance for recovering those Cities which were in the Hands of the Vicars, amongst which was *Pesaro* then in Possession of *Giovanni Sforza*, formerly Son-in-law to his Holiness. But the present Grandeur of the *Venetians* deterred him from entertaining any Thoughts of asserting his Claims to the Cities in their Possession, nor did he think it convenient at that Time to mention his Title to some little Places on the *Po*, that were in the Possession of the Duke of *Ferrara*. But *Valentino*, at the Head of the aforesaid *French* Troops, and those of the Ecclesiastic State, marched into *Romagna*, and imediately made himself Master of *Imola*, which City surrendered to him the latter End of December, 1499*.

VOL. II.

B b

THIS

* On the 29th of December. *Buonacorsi.*

Turkish Incursion. THIS Year, so fruitful of Events, and remarkable Revolutions in *Italy*, will be also memorable for an Irruption of the Turks into the *Venetian* Borders. For *Bajazet*, the Ottoman Emperor, having with a powerful Fleet, laid Siege by Sea to the *Venetian* Maritime Towns in *Greece*, detached Six Thousand Horse to ravage the Province of *Friuli*. The Turks finding the Country unguarded, as expecting no such Visit, plundered and burnt all that came in their Way as far as *Liquentia*, and returning with an infinite Number of Prisoners as far as the Banks of the River *Tiglamento*, for the better Speed selecting as many as they could conveniently carry with them, most cruelly massacred all the rest. Nor were the *Venetian* Affairs well managed in *Greece*, for *Antonio Grimano*, the Captain General of the *Venetian* Fleet in those Parts, was accused of neglecting an Opportunity of destroying the Turkish Fleet when it came out of Port *Sapientia*, and again at the Mouth of the Gulph of *Lepanto*. The Senate after appointing him a Successor, sent him a Summons to appear

Venetian Admiral faulty.

pear at *Venice*, and committed his Cause ^{A. D.} ~~to the Cognizance of the Council of the~~ ^{1499.} ~~Pregadi~~, who had it under Examination ^{Tried,} many Months, his Authority and Greatness bearing him up, and pleading strongly for him against a Multitude of Arguments and Witnesses produced by his Accusers. At last it appearing that the Authority of the Accused, and the Multitude of his Relations pleaded hard for his Acquittal, or because the Council of *Pregadi*, in which were many Persons of great Prudence, had no Regard to common Report or ill grounded Calumnies, but applied themselves seriously to find out the Truth, the Cause was by the Magistracy of Advocates of the Community referred to the Cognisance of the Grand Council, where, either his Friends having no Sway, or that greater Deference was paid to the Prejudices of the clamorous Multitude, than to the Dictates of Senatorial Gravity, his Fate was at length determined, tho' not ^{And sen-} till the End of the ensuing Year, when he ^{tenced.} was condemned to perpetual Banishment in the Isle of *Offaro*.

WE are now entering on the Year 1500 as fruitful of Events as the former, and also memorable for the plenary Remission of the Jubilee, first instituted by the Popes to be celebrated, according to the Example of the Old Testament, every Hundredth Year, not with Pomp and Pastimes, as was the Manner of the old *Romans* in their secular Games, but for the Salvation of Souls. For at this Time, according to the pious Belief of the christian People, there is granted a full Remission of all Sins, to such as confess them with sincere Repentance, and visit the Churches dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles at *Rome*. This Jubilee has since been ordered to be celebrated every Fiftieth Year, and at last reduced to the Twenty Fifth tho' out of Respect to the Memory of its first Institution, the Hundreth Year is celebrated by a much greater Concourse of People.

IN the Beginning of this Year *Valentino* took Possession of the City of *Forli* without Opposition. The Lady Governess of
the

the Place sending away her Children and her richest Effects to *Florence*, and abandoning the rest which she was not able to preserve, was reduced to make the best of her Defence in the Citadel and Castle, which were well provided with Men and Artillery. She betook herself to the Citadel, and being a Woman * of a brave and manly Spirit, she made a Resistance which redounded very much to her Honour. *Va-*^{Manly}
lentino having tried in vain to induce her ^{Behaviour} ^{of a Lady.} to surrender, raised a great Battery against the Citadel, which beat down a good Part of the Wall and drew after it much of the Rampart, and filled up the Ditch so far as to make the Breach easy to be mounted. But the Besieged were so much terrified, that they abandoned the Defence, and endeavoured to retire into the Castle. The Lady used her utmost Effort to stop the Retreat, and animate her Men, but was born down by the Crowd, and the Enemy breaking in upon

B b 3 them,

* This Heroine was Madama *Caterina Sforza Riario*, Wife to *Girolamo Riario*, and afterwards of *Giovanni de' Medici*. Some write that when *Valentino* threatened, if she did not surrender the Citadel, to kill her Children, she cried out, "Here, Duke, is the Mould for casting more!"

A. D.
1500.

them, under the present Hurry and Confusion, cut most of them to pieces before the Gate, and entering pell mell among the rest into the Castle put all to the Sword, except a few of the Chief, who with the Lady retired into a Tower, and were made Prisoners. *Valentino* considering her Valour more than her Sex, sent her Prisoner to *Rome*, where she was kept in the Castle of *Sant' Angelo*, till, at the Intercession of *Yve d' Allegre*, she was set at Liberty.

VALENTINO, having made himself Master of *Imola* and *Forli*, proceeded with an Intent to make further Conquests, but was stopt in his Career by new and unforeseen Accidents. For the King of *France*, after giving what Orders he thought proper for the Administration of his new Acquisition, leaving sufficient Garrisons in the *Milanese*, and prolonging the Truce with the King of the *Romans* till the *May* ensuing, including in it the Dutchy of *Milan*, and all that the *French* possessed in *Italy*, returned into *France*. He took with him the little Son of *Giovan Galeazzo*, whom his

his Mother imprudently committed to his ^{A. D.} ~~1500.~~ Care, and whom he afterwards placed in a Monastery, and left the Goverment of *Milan* to *Gianjacopo Trivulzi*, in whom he reposed an entire Confidence, both on account of his Valour, and other Merits, as well as his Enmity to *Lodovico Sforza*.

BUT the King could not leave behind *Milanese* him a faithful Disposition in the Minds of ^{uneasy} ~~under the~~ his new Subjects, many of whom were ^{French} disgusted at the Manners and Customs of ^{Govern-} ~~ment.~~ the *French*, others found themselves disappointed in their Expectations of the Royal Bounty, and of an Exemption from all Taxes whatever, as the unthinking Populace had fondly persuaded themselves. Multitudes were highly dissatisfied at the Promotion of *Trivulzi*, the Head of the Faction of the *Guelfs*, to the Government of *Milan*, where the *Ghibelline* Faction was very powerful both in the Capital and all over the Dutchy. And this ill Disposition was exasperated by the bad Management of the Governor, who was of a factious, proud and restless Tem-

A. D. per, and favoured and countenanced with
1500. the Authority of the Chief Magistrate,
much more than was convenient, those of
his own Party. Besides he was abhorred
by the Populace for killing with his own
Hand in the public Shambles some Butch-
ers, who had the Impudence, in com-
mon with other Sorts of Vulgar, to refuse
Payment of the Duties from which they
were not exempted, and were so rash as to
oppose with Force of Arms the Entrance
of the Officers appointed to collect them.
On account of these Grievances the major
Part of the Nobility, and the whole Body
of the common People, who are by Na-
ture greedy of Novelties, longed after *Lo-
dovico's* Return, talked of the same in
public, and sounded his Name aloud in
the open Streets,

IN the mean time the Duke of *Milan*,
and his Brother the Cardinal had waited
on *Cæsar*, and met with a gracious and
honourable Reception. That Prince shewed
much Concern for their Misfortunes,
commiserated their afflicted Condition,
and made them repeated Promises of his
marching

A. D.
1500.

marching in Person at the Head of a powerful Army for the Recovery of their Estate, since he had now put an effectual End to his War with the *Swiss*. But such was his known Fickleness of Temper, and his Manner of confounding his ill concerted Projects one with another, that their Hopes diminished daily ; and as he was labouring under his usual Necessities, without any Regard to their present Distress, he was continually borrowing Money of them. The Duke then and the Cardinal, being weary of flattering themselves with vain Hopes, and being encouraged by the continual Sollicitations of Numbers of People of Quality in *Milan*, resolved to undertake the Work by themselves, with the Help of Eight Hundred *Swiss*, and Five Hundred Men at Arms of *Burgundy* which they had inlisted. *Trivulzi*, well informed of their Motions, was alarmed, and immediately dispatched an Express to *Venice* to sollicit the speedy March of the *Venetian* Troops to the River *Adda*, and another to *Yve d'Alegre*, with Letters, importuning that it was necessary for him to withdraw from *Valentino* with the *French* Men at Arms and *Lodovico* recalled.

A. D. 1500. and *Swiss* under his Command, and march with all Speed for *Milan*; and that the Enemy might meet with Resistance at their first Attempt, he ordered part of the Army to *Como*, his Jealousy of the Inhabitants of *Milan* not suffering him to send his whole Force.

BUT the Diligence of the two Brothers defeated all his Measures; for, without waiting till all their Troops were assembled, they set out with such as were ready, leaving Orders for the rest to follow Party after Party, and after passing the Mountains with incredible Speed they embarked on the Lake of *Como*, and appearing off that City, the *French*, who knew the Disposition of the *Comeſe*, forsook the Place, and the *Sforzas* were immediately received. The News of the Loss of *Como* raised such Commotions in the People of *Milan*, and in almost all the Heads of the *Ghibelline* Faction, that Tumults soon followed, which *Trivulzi* finding himself too weak to suppress, had no Way left but to retire with all Speed into the Castle, and the Night following together with some Men at

Lodovico
recovers
Como.

Milan

quitted by
the French.

at Arms, who had retired into the *Barco*, adjoining to the Castle, he took his Way towards *Novara*, persecuted by a tumultuous Mob with Insults and Execrations as far as the River *Tesino*. He left Four Hundred Lances at *Novara*, and threw himself with the rest into *Mortara*, where he and the rest of the Officers employed their Thoughts more on the Manner of recovering the Dutchy of *Milan*, when Succours should arrive from *France*, than on preserving it with their present Force.

THE French having thus quitted *Milan*, *Lodovico* first the Cardinal, and afterwards *Lodovico* recovers himself made their Entrance into that of *Milan*. Capital, and took full Possession of all except the Castle, with as much Ease as it had been lost, the People expressing more Joy and Pleasure at his Return than they had done at his Departure. *Pavia* and *Parma* declared for him without Delay, and *Lodi* and *Piacenza* would have followed their Example, had not the *Venetians*, who were advanced to the *Adda*, hastily entered those Places. *Alessandria*, and almost

A. D.
1500.

Pavia and *Parma* pro-
claims
Lodovico.

A. D: almost all the Towns beyond the *Po*, as
1500. they were farther distant from *Milan*, and
nearest *Asti*, a City which belonged to the
King remained in Peace, and attentive
to the further Progress of Affairs, by
which they might take their Measures
with more Safety and Advantage.

Lodovico having recovered *Milan*, applied himself with all Speed to the Levying of a good Body of *Italian* Foot and as many Men at Arms as he could procure ; and ceased not solliciting by Intreaties, Offers, and all manner of Hopes, every one whom he thought of Ability, or inclined to assist him in his pressing Necessity. He deputed Cardinal *Sanseverino* to *Cæsar*, to notify his prosperous Beginning, and intreat a Supply of Men and Artillery. And as he would by no means have the *Venetian* Senate his Enemies, he gave Orders for Cardinal *Ascanio* to dispatch without Delay the Bishop of *Cremona* to *Venice*, to make an Offer of Reconciliation, which he was heartily willing to procure upon whatever Terms they should please to prescribe. But the

Lodovico
unsuccess-
ful with
the *Vene-*
tians, *Flo-*
rentines,
and
Genoese.

the Bishop found the Senate inflexible, A. D.
for they were determined not to depart ^{1500.} from their Confederacy with *France*. The *Genoese*, tho' earnestly sollicited, refused to return under his Dominion ; nor would the *Florentines* comply with his Demand of repaying him what they had borrowed. Only the Marquis of *Mantoua* sent his Brother with some Men at Arms to his Assistance ; and these were accompanied by the Lords of *Mirandola*, *Carpi*, and *Correggio*. The *Senese* remitted him also a small Sum of Money ; but these were but scanty Supplies to a Man in his Condition ; as were also those of *Filippo Rosso*, and the *Vermineschi*. The Fathers of these Noblemen had been deprived of their Dominion by *Lodovico*, the *Rossi* in particular of *San Secondo*, *Torchiara*, and many other Seats in the *Parmesan* ; and the *Vermineschi* of the City of *Bobbio*, and other circumjacent Places in the Mountains of *Piacenza*. But now *Filippo* left the *Venetian* Service without Leave, in order to recover his Patrimony, which he effected, and then joined *Lodovico* with his Troops ; the same Means were used by

A. D. by the *Vermineschi* to regain what belonged
1500. to them, both Parties laying hold of this
Occasion to work themselves into the
Duke's Favour.

Lodovico having assembled Fifteen Hundred Men at Arms besides the *Burgundian Horse*, his Infantry consisting of the *Swiss*, and a numerous Body of *Italian Foot*, left his Brother *Ascanio* at the Siege of the Castle of *Milan*, and passing the *Tesino*, took Possession of the Town and Fortress of *Vigevano* by Composition, and sat down before *Novara*. He chose to besiege this Place rather than *Mortara*, either because the *French* had strongly fortified themselves in *Mortara*, or because he imagined that the Conquest of that famous and plentiful City would greatly increase his Reputation, and shorten the War; and by taking *Novara* the *French* in *Mortara* might probably be so distressed for want of *Victuals*, as to be forced to abandon the Place; or, perhaps, his Design was also to intercept the Passage of *Yves d'Allegre*, who was returning from *Romagna* to *Novara*. That General was on his

Novara
besieged
by Lodo-
vico.

his March with Duke *Valentino*, in order to besiege *Pesaro*, but on receiving Orders from *Trivulzio*, he suddenly departed with all the Horse and the *Swiss*, and in his March near *Parma* hearing of the Rebellion of *Milan*, he redoubled his Speed, and making an Agreement with the *Parmesans* and the *Piacentines* that he would do them no Damage, provided they would grant him free Passage, he made the best of his Way to *Tortona*. Arriving near that City he was addressed by the *Guelfs*, who thirsting after Revenge against the *Ghibellins*, represented to him how after that Party had returned under the Obedience of *Lodovico*, they were insulted and turned out of their Houses by them ; but the *French* entering the Town plundered all whether Friend or Foe without Distinction, the *Guelfs* in vain lamenting and exclaiming that the King's most faithful Servants were treated no better than perfidious Enemies. From *Tortona* Yve continued his March to *Alessandria*, where he was obliged to stay, because the *Swiss*, either for want of Pay, or out of Treachery, deserted to the Duke

A. D.
1500.

THE HISTORY OF

Duke of Milan. The Duke now finding himself stronger than his Enemies pushed on the Siege *Novara*, in hopes of taking the Place before the *French*, who expected Succours from the King, could be in a Condition to relieve it. His Endeavours took Effect, for the *French* Garrison, despairing of Relief, surrendered the Town upon Articles, by which they were allowed to march out of the Place with all their Effects, and be safely conducted to *Vercelli*. The Capitulation was punctually observed by *Lodovico*, tho' some would have persuaded him to break it, and put the Garrison to the Sword, as the surest Means to disable his Enemy, and not unwarranted by the Example of great Men, who have violated their Faith, for the Sake of acquiring a State; how much more lawful then must it be to break ones Faith, for preserving it! The City of *Novara* being reduced, *Lodovico* laid Siege to the Citadel; but it was thought that if he had marched towards *Mortara*, where was a Misunderstanding between *Ligni* and *Trivulzio*, the *French* would have retired on the other Side of the *Po*.

BUT

1500.

BUT while *Lodovico* was thus active and diligent in improving his good Fortune, the King was no less eager and follicitous to repair his Losses. As soon as he had received Advice of the Rebellion of Milan, burning with Shame and Indignation, he immediately dispatched *Tremouille* with Six Hundred Lances for Italy, gave Orders for raising a great Body of *Swiss*, and for the greater Expedition in providing all things necessary, appointed the Cardinal of *Rouen* his Intendant General on this Side the Mountains, and ordered him to set out immediately for *Asti*. The Preparations were so hastened, that by the Beginning of April the King had in Italy an Army of Fifteen Hundred Lances, Ten Thousand *Swiss*, and Six Thousand *French* under the Command of *La Tremouille*, *Trivulzi*, and *Ligni*. All these Troops assembled together at *Mortara*, and thence marched towards *Novara*, depending as much on Treachery as open Force; for the chief Officers of the *Swiss* that were in *Lodovico's* Army, tho' they had behaved both bravely and faithfully in the Siege of

A. D.

1500.

Novara, entered now into a private Combination with the chief Officers of their Countrymen that were in the *French Army*, which *Lodovico* beginning to suspect, gave Orders for the March of Four Hundred Horse and Eight Thousand Foot from *Milan* to reinforce his Army. The *Swiss* that were in *Novara* now began to be tumultuous at the Instigation of their Officers, and took Occasion to murmur because they were disappointed of their Pay on the Day it was promised. But the Duke immediately flying to the Place where the Tumult was, used such kind and fair Speeches, intermixed with Prayers and Intreaties, as really moved Compassion ; and by making them a Present of all his Plate, prevailed on them to wait till the Money arrived from *Milan*. But the *Swiss* Officers being apprehensive that if the Duke's Army should be reinforced by the Troops from *Milan*, the Execution of their treacherous Designs might be prevented, took Care that the *French Army* should present itself in order of Battle before the Walls of *Novara*, surrounding

surrounding a great Part of it, while A. D.
they posted a Body of Horse between ¹⁵⁰⁰
that City and the River *Tesino*, to pre-
vent the Duke or any other from ef-
caping to *Milan*. The Duke finding
every Hour more and more Reason to
think himself betrayed, resolved to march
with his Army out of *Novara*, and
give the Enemy Battle, having already
ordered out his light Horse, and
the *Burgundians* to begin the Fight.
But his Measures were flatly contra-
dicted and opposed by the *Swiss* Com-
manders, who protested that it was
not lawful for them to fight against
their own Brothers, near Relations and
Countrymen, without Leave first ob-
tained from their Superiors.* And soon

C c 2

Lodovico
after betrayed
by his
Swiss.

* Some would excuse the *Swiss* in this Affair, alledg-
ing that they are prohibitted by their Law, under the
severest Penalties, to appear in Arms against the public
Standard of the League; and because the *Swiss* in *Lodo-
vico's* Army had been privately listed, but those in the
French Service under the public Banner of the League,
consequently the former were not at Liberty to act against
their Countrymen on the other Side without rebelling
against their Laws.

A. D. after intermixing with the other *Swiss*,
^{1500.} as if they made but one Army, they declared their Resolution to set out immediately for their own Country. Nor could *Lodovico* with all his Prayers, Tears, and infinite fair Promises, divert them from this barbarous Treachery, tho' he besought them in the most supplicant Manner, that they would, at least, conduct him into a Place of Safety. But these obdurate Wretches having before agreed with the *French* Generals to march off, and leave him behind, his Request was not granted. All he could obtain was, to dress himself like a *Swiss* private Centinel, and to take his Chance, if he was not known, to escape. This Proposel he accepted of as his only Refuge in this utmost Distress ; but, alas ! it proved insufficient for his Security. For as the *Swiss* were marching in military Order through the *French* Army, he was, by the Vigilance of those who were appointed to watch, or by the Indication of the *Swiss* themselves, discovered as he was marching a-foot in

in the midst of a Battalion, clothed A. D.
and armed like a *Swiss*, and immedi-
ately made a Prisoner; a miserable Spec-
tacle! which drew Tears even from
the Eyes of many that were his En-
emies. With him were taken *Galeazzo*
da Sanseverino, *Fracassa*, and *Antonmaria*
his Brothers, disguised in the same
Manner among the *Swiss*. The *Italian*
Soldiers were all seized and stript, ei-
ther in *Novara*, or in their Flight to-
wards the *Tesino*. But the *Burgundian*
Horse, and the *German* Foot were ci-
vily dismissed, the *French* not thinking
fit to affront these Nations.

THE Duke being taken, his Army
dispersed, all Obstacles removed, and
every Place full of Flight and Terror,
Cardinal *Ascanio*, who had already for-
warded the March of the Troops that
were assembled at *Milan*, being terrified
at so sad a Catastrophe, suddenly de-
parted from *Milan*, in order to retire
to some Place of Safety, accompanièd
by many of the *Ghibelline* Nobles, who
having shewn an immoderate Zeal for

A. D.
1500.

Lodovico, despaired of obtaining Pardon from the *French*. But it was ordained that Treachery and ill Fortune should both equally conspire against the Two Brothers. The Cardinal fatigued with a hasty and troublesome Day's Journey, rested the next Night at *Rivolta* in the *Piacentine*, a Castle belonging to *Currado Lando*, a Gentleman of *Piacenza*, his Relation and intimate Friend. But *Currado*, changing his Mind with the Change of Fortune, sent immediate Notice of his Guest to *Carlo Orfini*, and *Sonzino Benzone*, two *Venetian* Officers at *Piacenza*, and upon their Arrival with a Guard delivered him into their Hands. But *Hermes Sforza*, Brother to the late Duke *Giovanni Galeazzo*, and some other *Ghibelline* Gentlemen that accompanied the Cardinal, who had more wisely consulted their Safety than to take up their Lodging with him in the Castle, were passed forwards. *Ascanio* was immediately conducted a Prisoner to *Venice*; but the King considering how much it would conduce to the Security of the Dutchy of *Milan* to have

have him in his own Custody, peremptorily demanded him of the Senate, and upon their demurring, proceeded to Protests and Menaces, claiming him as his Prisoner because he was taken in a Country subject to his Dominion. This Demand, tho' very harsh and grating, and highly injurious to the Honour of the *Venetian* Name, yet to avoid the Fury of the *French* Army, the Senate thought best to comply with, and delivered him up together with all the rest of the *Milanese* who had been taken with him. And as a greater Instance of their Obsequiousness, *Battista Visconti*, and some others of the Nobles who had fled from *Milan* on the same Account, and taken Refuge in the *Ghiaradadda*, and had obtained a Protection for their Security, in which it was expressly mentioned that they should not be delivered up to the *French*, were notwithstanding, from the same Motives of servile Awe and Dread, delivered into the King's Power. Of so much Influence was the Terror of the *French* Arms at that Time on the *Venetian* Senate, as to set aside all Regard to the Dignity of the Republic.

A. D.
1500.

Delivered
to the
French.

THE HISTORY OF

THE City of *Milan*, destitute of all Hopes, immediately sent Ambassadors to the Cardinal of *Rouen* humbly to implore Pardon. The Cardinal received them very graciously, and granted them a Pardon for their Rebellion in the King's Name, but on Condition of paying Three Hundred Thousand Ducats, the greatest Part of which the King afterwards was pleased to remit. After the same Manner did the Cardinal pass an Indemnity for the other Cities that had rebelled, fining every one of them according to their respective Rank and Abilities *.

THE War being thus happily ended, the Troops were disbanded; but the *Swiss* of the Four Cantons nearest to the Town of *Bellinzona*, situated among the Mountains, in their Return home, unexpectedly took Possession of that Place. The King at first might have had it restored for a moderate Sum, but indulging his penurious

* *Pavia* was fined One Hundred Thousand Ducats, *Parma* Sixty Thousand. *Buonocorsi.*

rious Temper, to save a little Money, he lost Opportunities that were of great Moment to his Affairs. For such Times and Accidents happened afterwards, as made him oftentimes desirous to purchase that Town at any Rate, it being a Pass of the greatest Importance for preventing the Descent of the *Swiss* into the *Milanese*.

A. D.
1500.

LODOVICO SFORZA was conducted to *Lions*, where the King was at that Time, and made his Entry into that City at Noonday amidst an infinite Number of Spectators, who flocked from all Parts to behold a Prince so lately at the Height of Grandeur and Majesty, and the Envy of the World for Happiness, now fallen into the most abject State of Misery, and not able to obtain the Favour, tho' he earnestly desired it, of being admitted into the King's Presence. After Two Days he was committed to the Tower of *Loches*, where he spent the Remainder of his Life, which was about ten Years, in a narrow Prison, which afforded Room enough to hold the Man whose Thoughts and Ambition

Lodovico
spends the
Remain-
der of his
Life in a
Prison.

A. D. bition all *Italy* was scarce sufficient to
1500. circumscribe.

His Cha- LODOVICO SFORZA, was, without
racter. Question, a Prince of extraordinary Wit
and Eloquence, and of many other natu-
ral Endowments, and might well deserve
the Appellation of gentle and merciful,
had not the Infamy of his Nephew's
Death sullied that Part of his Character.
But on the other Hand it must be con-
fessed that he was naturally vain, restless,
ever full of ambitious Projects, made light
of his Promises, or a Breach of Faith,
and was so conceited of his Wisdom, that
he could by no means endure to hear
another commended for extraordinary Pru-
dence and Sagacity, persuading himself
that by his own Art and Industry he
could dive into the Thoughts, and pene-
trate the Designs of the most able Polit-
icians, and bend them to his own Purposes.

Cardinal
Ascanio
confined.

HIS Confinement was followed not
long after by that of Cardinal *Ascanio*,
his Brother, who was received with greater
Civility and Respect, and had the Favour
to

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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to be visited by the Cardinal of *Rouen*. A. D. He had also a more honourable Prison, ^{1500.} for he was committed to the Tower of *Bourges*, where the King who now imprisoned him had formerly lain himself two Years confined. So mutable and wretched is the Condition of Mortals, and so blind are we to future Events, and the Approaches of Fate !

The End of the Fourth Book, and Second Volume.



EXPLANATION OF NAMES.

Pagolo	Paul
Caterina	Katherine
Ridolfo	Rodolphus
Cæsare	Cæsar
Antonio	Anthony
Alexandria	The same.
Aleffandria	
Gian	John
Nicoló	Nicholas
Michele	Michael
Bartolomeo	Bartholomew
Anton Maria	Anthony Mary
Gianjacopa	John James

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